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Contents

A Synthetic View of the Social Individual as a Primary Datum in Sociology	HERBERT A. BLOCH	499
Adolescent Status Demands and the Student Experiences of Twenty Schizophrenics	N. J. DEMERATH	513
"Social Character" as a Sociological Concept	HENRY OZANNE	519
Monuments: German Personality Types Foreshadowing the Collapse of the Weimar Republic	HOWARD BECKER	525
Social Participation and Totalitarian War	EDWIN M. LEMERT	531
Freedom from Want and International Population Policy	IMRE FERENCZI	537
Educational Reconstruction in Europe	FELIKS GROSS	543
Familial Adjustments of Japanese-Americans to Relocation: First Phase	LEONARD BLOOM	551
Food and Social Status in a Rural Society	JOHN W. BENNETT	561
Jazz and Its Forerunners as an Example of Acculturation	J. S. SLOTKIN	570
Official Reports and Proceedings		576
Report on Nominations and Election for 1944		576
Notices and Committee Notes		577
Audit Report for July 15, 1942-June 14, 1943		577
Statement by the Treasurer		580
Membership List for 1943		581
Note to Members from President Lundberg		597
Tentative Program of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting		598
Proposed Amendments to the By-Laws		601
Current Items		
Editorial Notes		602
Additional Notes on Members in the Armed Forces		603
News and Announcements		603
Book Reviews and Notes		605

(The above articles are indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals* and the *Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service*)

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A SYNTHETIC VIEW OF THE SOCIAL INDIVIDUAL AS A PRIMARY DATUM IN SOCIOLOGY

HERBERT A. BLOCH
The St. Lawrence University

In the natural sciences, an effective *theoretical system* characteristically has as its focal center a primary datum from which all the ramifications of the structure extend. Sociology implies the concept of the *socius*, which is well fitted to play this central, primary role, binding together social psychology and sociology and providing a basis for systematic research and pedagogy. By utilizing existent theory and research, a logico-heuristic schematism is here proposed, based upon the socius conceived as an individual psychogenetic pattern ("p.g.p."), seen in its "need" phase and its "functional" phase, and expressed within a given cultural and social milieu through a sociological pattern involving "status," "role," "socialized habit," "attitudes," and "wishes."

THE *Use of Primary Data in Natural Science*. The history of the natural sciences bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the effectiveness of sound theoretical doctrine is achieved largely through agreement upon the fundamental nature of the data with which it deals and secondly, through the validation of inferences from such data by means of operational manipulation. The rigorous self-consistency which appears as an inescapable concomitant of such theory and which, incidentally, is so much admired by those outside the field, is a natural resultant of the logical potentialities inherent in such basic formulations, as these have become defined as "constructs" constricted in inferential meaning within the pattern of empirical and demonstrable control-devices. The original datum, which may have been a simple tangible experience in the form of an object falling through space or a piece of rock subjected to careful and rigorous scrutiny, becomes attenuated in the form of

a mental image or construct which has developed from the type of observational and control-techniques employed in the process of study or experimentation. The construct actually, therefore, is a creature of the laboratory and the procedures involved therein, but once it grips the scientific imagination it unleashes an enormous range of possibilities in the study and control of related data and physical processes. At the same time, the original datum and related data are continually being circumscribed to conform to the necessary modifications produced by the new discoveries.

The process of conceptualization which accompanies this development of scientific thinking continually presses upon the original datum to cause its disintegration through the analysis of its component parts. What was originally a totality in the form of the original datum becomes an analytical synthesis of its component parts, and the parts themselves are forever being broken down

into lesser and more basic elements. This atomization of science continually pushes back the frontiers of scientific thinking to a shadowy hinterland of basic assumptions upon which the fractionalized parts depend. The course of development of molecular physics from what was once considered an irreducible minimum in the composition of the material elements that comprise the universe to a succession of break-downs into atomic structures, atomic particles, atomic nuclei and quanta-elements affords us with a telescopic view of the fractionalized continuum which marks the progress of all science. The interesting feature in this development, however, is that the basic element, as large and as crude as it may appear now in retrospect, in contrast to the finely subdivided elements that resultantly compose it, is itself not destroyed in the process. As a matter of fact, the intellectual process accommodates itself most effectively during the early stages of speculative science to the use of entity-structures, microcosmic material particles with fixed space and time references, which in the course of evolutionary development become transliterated into embodiments of pure relational activities.

The mathematics which accompanies this process of thought, and which in fact becomes a form of highly concentrated mnemonic logic, continually pushes its tendrils forward until it eventually attains a level of its own, far outdistancing the crude datum which initiated the process. This type of advanced speculative thinking becomes the harbinger of new theoretic structures with a language and logic of its own, which become virtually almost impossible of translation and redefinition in terms of the crude entities once comprehensible to layman and scientist alike. Thus, when the scientific popularizer attempts to express the newer conceptions in a form meaningful to the lay public, he speaks of such things as the universe contracting and expanding at the same time, or of finite space, conceptions which are meaningless and mutually exclusive in the ordinary realm of discourse. Nevertheless, the basic datum has been preserved and the theoretical structure which now utilizes its component parts traces

its *genetic development* and its *present structural form* from the datum which first emanated from the trial procedures of the laboratory.¹

As scientific theory becomes a more effective vehicle for probing and solving the various problems within its purview, not the least of its accomplishments lies in the fact that it directs the attention towards problems which had at first not been fully perceived or visualized. As a matter of fact, frequently many of the problems to which it latterly compels the attention of the scientist could hardly have been anticipated or perceived at all at the outset. This attention-focussing propensity of good theory—what we might call its directive focus—is one of the most fundamental criteria of its underlying value and certainly, one of the most effective guarantees of its growth. But regardless of how complex the theoretical structure itself may become, the basic postulates upon which the theory was founded and through which it was initiated, remain simple and diffuse, and while enormously energizing in their propulsive effects upon the scientific structure, relatively few in number. The ancient principle of *Occam's Razor* enjoining restraint and parsimony in the use of beginning postulates is an admonition which, either through adventitious necessity or careful design, has become a part of every sound theoretical structure. A sound scientific theory

¹It is possible that we are now observing a process of synthesis, breakdown and resynthesis of the basic intellectual elements comprising the present structure of scientific thought which is keeping pace with the general intellectual temper of contemporary social change. This is a problem which might very well be studied by the sociologist of knowledge. It appears possible at this point that the process of atomization has followed a definite pattern of social development and that we are now emerging into a field of integration of previously structured elements into new and larger forms. If this is so, it might add further fuel to the quantitative-methodological controversy in our own field of study by indicating the limitations to a purely scientific and non-evaluative social science. In connection with this latter point, Claude C. Bowman's article, "Evaluations and Values Consistent With the Scientific Study of Society," appearing in the recent June, 1943, issue of the *Review* raises some interesting challenging and supporting views.

is like a work of art—it attains the maximum of effect with a paucity of means. The magnificent design and the firm structure of good scientific doctrine impresses us with this fact. An oft-cited example in this respect is the scientific splendor as well as the aesthetic perfection of the Euclidean Geometrics which, with a few basic postulates and axioms, rears itself into a many-faceted schematism encompassing a diversity of solutions for innumerable problems falling within its scope. It might also be added that the development of more recent departures in such fields does not of necessity destroy the conceived intention of the original work. The non-Euclidian systems which have sprung up during the last century do not necessarily impair the effectiveness of the older system. That system still holds for its own type of problems and within its own peculiar frame of reference. In the same way, the Einstein doctrine does not necessarily dispense with the utility of the older Newtonian system. Both systems can and do, in fact, exist side by side, and will continue to do so until our generalized intellectual and material conceptions can be wholly accommodated to the new system.

However, in the development of the older system of thought, the complexity brought about by the continuous and attempted incorporation of newly integrated parts, abetted by the necessary development of specialists and specialized areas, creates a situation where the new problems presenting themselves cannot be satisfactorily resolved by the traditional mechanisms and the original assumptions. The scientist then has recourse to the device of *ad hoc* hypotheses, extraneous developments and bastard-children of the older systems, which undermine the unity and coherence of the previous structure, rendering it an unwieldy and precarious affair. It is precisely at this juncture that the new doctrine makes itself felt in direct ratio to the extent to which it can reconcile and incorporate past dilemmas and older problems within its own framework. *Ad hoc* hypotheses, therefore, although extremely useful at the time of their inception, are temporary stopping-places in the onrushing de-

velopment of scientific thinking, indicating a form of arrested development in the degree of their prevalence and their removal from the original focal point of thought. They appear to signalize the eventual decay of the system of which they comprise at best but extraneous appendages. They must be regarded as temporary way-stations in the development of communicatory channels of invigorating and infusing intellectual conceptions, their existence as outposts of thought however, being limited until a unified system can articulate them into a contiguous and well structured framework.²

Some Historic Assumptions of Sociology. What the social sciences and late nineteenth century sociology came to mean to the early system-builders in our field was as diverse as the personalities of the men involved. The *potpourri* of Utopianism, evolutionism, philosophy of history and social reformism has been a veritable witches' cauldron sending forth its variegated aromatic potions which still benumb the intellectual senses of the contemporary sociologist. If two essential things have emerged from this witches' brew, however, they might be said to be a tradition of conceptualization, and secondly, a desire to imitate slavishly the natural sciences. It appears that despite the criticism of academic colleagues in other fields, to which sociologists have become somewhat injured and which might be accounted for on various other bases as well,³ these two con-

² The Committee on Conceptual Integration, it appears to the writer, has failed to take stock of these fundamental considerations. What it is primarily attempting is to integrate existent findings and conceptual data without fully appreciating the diverse sources of most of these findings and the differing preconceptions around separable "closed systems" of these findings. Regardless of the lateness of the period and despite the difficulties involved, a primary function would still appear to be to determine what are the basic data with which sociology should deal. Sociology, a pseudo-science with unmistakable and unfortunate faddistic tendencies, has come to mean veritably all sorts of things to all sorts of men, including sociologists themselves, as may be evidenced by even the most casual examination of almost any standard textbook in the field.

³ In this connection, see H. E. Barnes, "The Development of Sociology," in H. E. Barnes, H. and

tributions are not without value. If a science is not to degenerate into a sterile and endless repetition of technical devices, the inseminating practice of continual conceptualization has its undoubted value.⁴

In respect to the "scientific" emphasis in sociology, if we mean by that the well-nigh classical insistence upon objectivity with a view towards prediction and control, there can be little dispute with this fundamental requirement of our subject-matter, provided we do not preclude the development of different experimental approaches in favor of any one, whether that one be the strict quantitative approach or the *verstehende* approach of the Max Weber School. At this stage in the development of our subject, a real danger is encountered in the possibility of falling prey to any one particular "vested intellectual interest" which might attempt to determine definitively the direction which sociology should take. Such omniscience for any one group or intellectual doctrine is a little too much to ask for at this juncture of events.

Amidst the bewildering gamut of interests and points of view developed by the 19th

F. B. Becker, *Contemporary Social Theory*, N.Y., 1940, especially pp. 13-15.

*It appears that here we sociologists have a vital academic contribution to make, particularly at this time, when so much intellectual confusion exists in the general field of the social sciences. The importance of sustained thinking and rigorous logical analysis is a contribution which we can make to teaching in a way which other social "disciplines" (!) may not be able to perform as effectively. The recently disclosed poverty of history teaching, as revealed by the *New York Times* Survey, is a case in point. The reason for the lack of public and student interest may constitute a reflection, in part, of this deficiency of system and meaningfulness. This meaningfulness, in its essential sense, only comes from organized thought conveyed in such manner as to render the student capable of similar analysis. History, as well as the other social sciences, has been too much the product of brilliant *unique* insights. The 19th Century Germanic emphasis in history upon "factual" data, so-called, has rounded out a cycle of "objectivity" to intellectual anarchy to considerable meaninglessness in the educational process. To paraphrase the statement of the brother Ivan, in Dostoyevsky's classic, *The Brothers Karamazov*, the intellectually curious do not "want millions, but simply answers to their questions."

Century classical sociologists, interests and points of view ranging through well-nigh the entire heterogeneous assemblage of dogma and doctrine of this progressivistic epoch—political liberalism, religious panaceas, philosophy of scientism, crowd psychology, evolution and education—we can nevertheless detect certain common assumptions. In addition to the underlying pattern of reformist interests and problems dealing with the dynamic growth of the social order, there appears to run a continually recurrent and implicit theme concerning the basis of human nature. The essential differences in the types of theories evolved by these thinkers may be attributed, in large part, to their differing conceptions as to the nature of the human personality. Being imbued with an ethico-evaluative point of view and recruited largely from those intellectual fields which regarded man in the abstract, universal or social sense, and not in his unique aspects, while bearing the imprint as well of the older disciplines of political theory and history from which so many of these theories sprang, their conceptions of the human personality and its behavior attributes were conditioned largely by prevailing political philosophy and teleological interests.

Involved in each one of the theories of these men, however, was a definite conception of man, his limitations and his possibilities, sometimes explicitly stated and more often implied in their general writings. The fact that a more fundamental understanding of the complicated pattern of man's social relationships might ordinarily proceed from a better comprehension and explicit formulation of man himself as a social animal was given tacit acceptance in the developing conception of the *socius*, but hardly ever given the detailed and specified analysis which this beginning datum seemed to warrant.⁵

⁵For a full discussion of this problem, the reader is referred to the writer's *The Concept of Our Changing Loyalties: An Introductory Study into the Nature of the Social Individual*, New York, 1934, particularly pp. 7 et seq. In this volume, the writer, in developing the thesis set forth above, stated (p. 10): "The end of sociology is apparently to understand man as a social being. To do this, it appears to us

If we examine the writings of men like Comte, Spencer, and Ward, we are impressed with two things concerning their conception of the psychological bases of the social personality, viz. (1) a considerable similarity in their presumptive understanding of what the human mind was like, and (2) various inconsistencies in their treatment of such presumed traits, as well as certain logically exclusive differences which each developed and which accounts for diametric differences in their points of view. The similarities may be partially accounted for on the basis of the common heritage of political liberalism and rationalism which seeped into their thinking, and the differences on the basis of their peculiar sectarian interests reflected in the nature of the problems with which they concerned themselves and which they tried to resolve. For example, if we go to Comte, we find in his *Positive Philosophy* repeated references to the obduracy of men in their refusal to recognize the necessity of a knowledge of social laws, as well as repeated affirmations of man's deplorable penchant for the satisfaction of personal and immediate selfish interests. As a means of preserving a semblance of social order, he states that there is "no other daily recourse for the maintenance of even a rough and precarious social order than an appeal, more or less immediate, to personal interests."⁶ In this and many similar comments, we notice more than a passing kinship with the personalistic psychology of Adam Smith and the pragmatic perspective of the utilitarians, as well as an atavistic echo of Machiavelli himself. As on outcropping of this type of thinking, it is small wonder that we find as a natural logical resultant the eventual rearing of his thought into a gigantic plea for a

catholicity of human values, and the need for an enlarged and vital self-discipline. Spencer's thinking is likewise interesting for the light it sheds on his basic psychological views. The great evolutionist with his passion for system, because of his cosmic outlook, emphasizes the highly individualistic development of man but imputes to it the fallacious value-judgments inherent in his confusion of evolution and progress. Nevertheless, his psychology, strangely enough, bears a remarkably modern ring upon re-reading at this time from the standpoint of the rôle of individuation produced through functional adaptation. Using his well-known example of the homogeneous primitive personality, he adumbrates much of modern behavioristic, adaptational psychology in his writing upon the specificity of development of personality-traits.⁷ Ward's individualistic psychology becomes largely hortatory in his teleosis, but his difference from Comte and Spencer is largely an ethical transliteration rather than a fundamental difference in psychological view. In retrospect, it appears that the basic thought-structures of each of these thinkers might be conceived as having revolved around this primary datum, the social individual, and that an integrated system of thought might have been earlier developed, had this datum been subjected to rigorous and careful scrutiny before initiating the great projects of social control and social analysis with which these men were associated.

Modern Social Psychology and Sociology. Today we have in interstitial area of thought which presumably binds together the fields of sociology and psychology. Unlike the marginal and overlapping fields in the natural sciences which grew as a direct result of the logical development of certain common postulates, the field of social psychology has become a sort of no-man's land or open preserve, fascinating to the workers in both fields because it serves as a focal intellectual source, but lacking in a coherent vantage-point which might invigorate both disciplines. As a matter of fact, we might ask what it is that

necessary to define its fundamental terms. *The methods sociology employs will then tend to proceed from the understanding of these fundamental terms, rather than from any borrowing of a method conceived upon different postulates and only occasionally and partially applicable to the elements with which sociology deals.*" (Italics not in original text.) Also (p. 13): "We, in the social sciences, have been far too prone to begin with a method rather than a subject matter."

⁶ *Positive Philosophy*, II: 219.

⁷ Vide *First Principles*, Section III: 145.

makes a social psychologist? In the long run, the differences which seem to operate in the nature of the problems selected for research in this field and some of the differences of methodological detail which function in the treatment of such problems, result largely from disparities in research and academic tradition, bias, and training. Many of the articles that appear in the conventional sociological journals might very well appear in the social psychology periodicals as a matter of course, and vice versa. There apparently exists no specific and methodological line of demarcation which separates the two fields, except on the basis of the aforementioned training which, it is dubiously claimed, leads the psychological researcher to emphasize the unique aspect of his phenomena more than the social. Whether any real difference exists between the two fields may be beside the point at the present time, but certainly there is a real need for the establishment of certain theoretico-methodological criteria which will enable researchers in these fields to predicate their investigations upon certain mutually understood, if not common assumptions.

Sociologists are continually operating in fields which necessitate the establishment of a psychological framework which can be definitive for the given investigatory purpose at hand and oriented to their own special aspects of social phenomena. Much of our actual work, as teachers and researchers, invariably involves areas of interest where the psychological issue becomes paramount. To cite just a few, we have but to look at the rising interest in the fields of marriage and the family (where the sociologist, *mirabile dictu*, even assumes the function on occasion of marital counsellor), the field of criminology, attitude-testing, personality disorganization and sundry kindred fields. The development of research and academic interest in each field has arisen not so much from the logical development of sociology itself but largely as a result of prior claims staked out in the mad scramble for curricular and research domains of conquest. The result has been that a subject like criminology is investigated by men who call themselves either psychologists or sociologists, although both

may be using similar or even identical methods, and that courses in this field may be taught in the sociology department in one institution or in the psychology department of another. The only significance to be attached to this, of course, is that it is a constant reminder of and reflection upon the illogical ordering of the subjects falling within the ambit of this kind of research and theoretical interest.

The field of criminology affords us a notable illustration of the way in which psychological interests have been brought belatedly to the fore in the development of sociology and also as an indication of the type of intellectual stalemate which this rear-entrance development has engendered. Until recently, the criminological approach, at least in this country, has been largely characterized by the normative-statistical method. Enmeshed somewhere in these statistics has been the individual, whose presence there has, ironically enough, often been deplored by the criminologist in the guise of his recurrent apologetic plea concerning the lack of a theory of personality. To offset this lack, an eclecticism has been employed which offers the student a variety of approaches instead of one, accompanied usually by painstaking efforts to show the fallaciousness of each. The net result is frequently to leave the student with the discouraging conclusion that an adequate theory of personality development is improbable, if not impossible, with the sorry consolation that in some distant, but roseate future, when "more facts are known" such a theory may nevertheless actually be established. Actually, the sum total of much of this type of research, especially of the multiple statistical variety, leaves us with very little more at the end than we had when we started. The residual conclusions of such textual compilations of research, *vis a vis* the dynamic causal patterns of behavior that lead to criminal activity, are astounding in their meagreness and in their failure to enhance what little we already knew on the basis of ordinary perceptions and common-sense insights.

The multiple-factor theory, in illustration, is perhaps a sterling demonstration of the oftentimes meaningless "other-things-being-equal" artifice employed in other fields with less pretension, and it certainly stands as an outstanding example of the extensively employed *post hoc ergo propter hoc* logical fallacy. Apparently, what we lack in logico-empirical clarity, we try to make up

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through the false certitude of habit and the weight of numbers. As Professor M. F. Ashley Montagu has very incisively shown with grim and rather devastating logic, to correlate a number of antecedent statistical factors with a given state is hardly much different than the enumerating and associating of a selected statistical complex with any random sample of individuals, even if they be cadavers on marble slabs in the dissecting morgue.⁸ All we learn from such a process is that certain individuals were possessed of certain selected common traits, in varying degrees, before the adventitious circumstance that accounts for their being in a certain place at a certain time. What we do not learn is how a peculiar human mechanism was initiated, worked itself out, and became elaborated into a certain form of specific resultant behavior. Professor J. F. Brown's analysis, of the use of the genotype as compared with phenotypical description, regardless of whether we agree or disagree with the functioning of his own brand of genotypical reasoning, appears to be valid in principle in this respect.⁹ The difficulty in assigning primacy to any causal factor in criminal behavior and the entire "vicious circle" concept of criminal causation, as attested to by Clifford Shaw, affords us with another illustration.¹⁰ Probably the most significant work, certainly in the field of applied criminology, occurs when specific assumptions are made about behavior, and anticipatory developments of behavior-sequences are visualized and diagnosed. Actually, many competent workers in the field of criminology have definite convictions concerning the causal sequences in delinquency and criminal behavior which are virtually forced upon them under the necessities of institutional and treat-

ment procedures, although such workers apparently suffer from an inordinate sense of academic modesty when it comes to setting forth such conclusions in systematic, functional form.

Aside from this special branch of sociology, the lack of a workable frame of reference, relative to the social individual, manifests itself in the ease with which we fall prey to faddistic tendencies in the development of our subject-matter. Challenging research or conspicuous novel concepts, regardless of whether they can be integrated to the growing orientation of sociology, have an uncomfortable way of finding themselves in sociological jargon and thought. The wholesale borrowing of the concept of *culture* from the anthropologist, which now is firmly ensconced in the beginning sections of most recent basic texts in the field, may eventually be ruefully seen in retrospect as a dubious Grecian gift. The sociological historian will some day show why it was borrowed and it may then be seen to have served a valuable function in maturing the sociological intelligence. But the possibility also remains that it may likewise be shown how, aside from the hackneyed allusion to the endless diversity of man, the devious structural analysis emanating therefrom failed to shed particular light, at the time of its adoption as a standardized implement of our armamentarium, upon the basic problem of the nature of the social individual and his relation-making propensities.

Can We Make A Beginning? The human intelligence frequently returns, after many circumlocutions and roundabout peregrinations, to the scene of its original drama—presumably a return to the original "scene of the crime," so to speak. There has been a continual awareness among sociologists for a considerable period of time of the need for a thoroughgoing theory of personality and a development of the immediately ramifying concepts proceeding from such a context. The process of trial and error operating amidst the cultural compulsives of intellectual need and social change will frequently provide a form of scientific necessity in the ultimate selection of that which the sociologist comes to consider as valuable in the advancement of his knowledge. This can

⁸ See M. F. Ashley Montagu, "The Biologist Looks at Crime," *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 217, pp. 46-58.

⁹ J. F. Brown, *Psychology and the Social Order*, New York, 1936. See particularly chapter III and methodological background in Appendix A. For a fuller discussion of the source of these conceptions, see K. Lewin, "The Conflict Between Aristotelian and Galilean Modes of Thought in Psychology," *Journal of General Psychology*, Vol. 5, pp. 141-177 and the general extension of his views, translated in *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*, New York, 1935.

¹⁰ Clifford R. Shaw, "Housing and Delinquency," in J. M. Gries and James Ford (Editors), *Housing and the Community-Home Repair and Remodeling*, President's Conference, 1932, pp. 13-49.

partially be seen in the fact that certain key-concepts have been retained in sociology both for their theoretic and research values, and secondly, for their propaedeutic implications as basic data of our craft. Two of these conceptions, it appears to the writer, have been (1), the general ideational pattern of *social interaction*, and (2) the concept of *habit-patterns in relation to the socialized individual*, as developed by Dewey, Mead and Cooley. As a matter of fact, these two sets of concepts have come to involve each other in the thinking of most sociologists and have, in addition, been productive of considerable significant related research.

Concepts of these types may be classified into a relational series, or into an integrative group. The former, i.e., the concept of social interaction, may be thought of as a *relational* concept, while the latter, although of course also embodying relationships, might be considered an integrative concept insofar as it permits the generic use of many different types of functional relatedness. Implicit in the Cooley-Mead conception of the socialized individual are the very fruitful concepts of status and rôle which appear to constitute a specific contribution in shedding light upon the social determinants of individual behavior through the process of personal-social relationships. These insights originating in the field of sociology have been buttressed and enriched considerably by anthropological findings and usages which have provided a framework of empirical validation, particularly from the standpoint of showing the socially compulsive functions inherent in these conceptions.

The chief value of the status-rôle schematism in sociological thinking, as contrasted with the purely psychological approach to personality, is that it is continually reflective of the dynamic configured group source of individual motivation. Professor MacIver has taken the position that the conception of social relationships must always proceed from the conscious level, leaving the problem of the unique mechanisms in individual motivation to the psychologist and the physiologist.¹¹ Although this may be true in part,

the net total of social behavior must always be sought, nevertheless, within the framework of group motivation and normative cultural conditions, as well as in the uniquely cast behavior-traits which manifest themselves in such social behavior. In short, the social act may outwardly appear the same but in order to understand properly the problems of social change and social adjustment, we must have some fundamental conception of the unique operational mechanisms whose ultimate derivations and ultimate imprints are to be found in the types of normal and ever-changing social activities in which we are interested as sociologists. By heuristic schematisms and devices, we may be able to establish functionally a concept of the social individual which may meet the requirements in investigating the dynamic variations within the ideal-typical patterns to which we should ordinarily address ourselves. Any mechanism that we employ for such a purpose should be so contrived as to account for unique differences (although this problem need not be pursued by the sociologist), as well as for outwardly similar and conformable behavior, if we are ever to escape from the dragnet of purely normative traits and nomothetic sociologisms. If we remain on the latter level, it appears likely that sociology may never emerge from either a qualitative, or at best, a quantitative descriptive level, which is hardly the germinating source for the development of a functional, predictive science.

By a synthesis of the types of conceptual and research materials which we already have at our disposal, utilizing the concrete findings already established as tentative hypothetical elements for the *purposes at hand*, we may devise a number of probative schematisms which should have the double value of suggesting research leads as well as providing experimental systematic tools for the integration and enriched comprehension of our problems.¹²

Changes, N.Y., 1931, Chap. III. He appears to take the same position in his more recent, *Social Causation*, New York, 1942. See p. 8 et passim.

¹² Some psychologists are beginning to consider this type of lead in approaching their problems, i.e., the setting up of a direct logical structure which then

¹¹ R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and*

The following schematism is suggested as one possible means of integrating the various conceptual materials which sociologists conventionally employ and which, on a logico-heuristic level, affords a systematic view of the developing and functioning social individual. Many of the points of view involved are already utilized by sociologists, even in the absence of complete research validation, and some of the structure has already been schematically elaborated in whole or in part. As a pedagogical instrument, it may have considerable value if only to indicate to the student the way in which the heterogeneous materials and discrete mass of findings in the field may be seen to cohere in the form of a functionally usable and pragmatic tool. To this, however, a very necessary and precautionary proviso should be added to the effect that continual care must be exercised in regarding such an instrument as simply a possible approach which may serve certain carefully stipulated conditions but should hardly be construed as a final and definitive synthetic instrument. Such an attempt may constitute the beginnings of such a framework, however. No claim for originality is made in the use of conceptual data except for the method of their synthesis and in the schematic develop-

ment of some of their implications, especially when this is viewed from the standpoint of how a patterned conception of the social individual serves as the focal center of the system. It will be noted that the conception of the social individual which is developed begins from a sociological point of origin, is developed genetically within a sociological frame and, *parri passu*, becomes the progenitor, through status and rôle conceptions, of an endless variety of social relationships. Thus, both in initiating and in developing behavior, a sociological pattern for uniqueness and sociality is preserved.

In a schematism of this type, some allowance will have to be made for Allport's criticism of this general point of view (which space-limitations will not now permit), particularly in his specific critical references to such putative hormic significance of socialized personal tendencies as set forth.¹³ Similarly, provision for the viewpoint expressed in his theory of the functional autonomy of motives must be accounted for. It appears that his general conception of the functional autonomy of motives might very well be incorporated within the general structure outlined below without any drastic undermining of the basic positions set forth.¹⁴

¹³ Gordon W. Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, New York, 1937, particularly Part II.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. VII.

A PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL "SYSTEM" FOR UTILIZING THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL INDIVIDUAL AS A PRIMARY DATUM

A. *The Concept of Social Interaction*

1. Definition of social interaction: *The reciprocal interplay of personalities within a given social environment*, keeping in mind the fact that this process is distinguished by the following characteristics, *viz.*:
 - a. The unique background histories of the personalities involved (i.e., each individual trails his own special cloud of glory and disrepute behind him);
 - b. The reciprocal effects upon personalities which this interaction produces;
 - c. The anticipations and expectations which each interactive situation produces;
 - d. The chief forms which interaction may take, i.e.:
 - (1) Accommodation
 - (2) Adjustment
 - (3) Competition
 - (4) Conflict
2. The "external" conditions under which interaction operates: The conditions imposed by culture.
 - a. The meaning of culture: Its *proscriptive* and its *prescriptive* nature. Culture not only tells us

- (1) what we shall want, *but*
- (2) what we shall not want.
- Also, culture not only tells us
- (3) how we should attain the goal objects, but
- (4) how we should *not* proceed to go about obtaining them.

Thus, in its effects upon the individual, culture consists of special incitements and encouragements, goadings and cajolings, discouragements and reproofs, etc.

- b. The *modes* or *techniques* through which these enjoinders and injunctions are imposed upon the individual consist of:

- (1) Physical coercion;
- (2) Verbal admonishment or encouragement;
- (3) Rewards, actual or potential;
- (4) Other expressive forms of approval and disapproval.

- 3. The unique function of the family in mediating the culture from without: the *emotional atmosphere* from the standpoint of the "deliverers of culture" (The "E.A.")

- a. The "refraction" or "distortion" of the cultural values is dependent upon:

- (1) The *personality-characteristics* of the bearer of the cultural value (i.e., in the case of the child, the parent or other members of the family); and—
- (2) The attitude towards the given cultural value *entertained by these self-same human agents*.

- b. The human agents surrounding the child comprise one set of factors contributing to the development and growth of his personality. The other "variables" arise from his biological endowment.

B. The Biological Factors Contributing to the Growth of Personality

- 1. Simple organic reflex activities;
 - a. The elementary "chained" reflexes.
- 2. The *organic drives*
 - a. Produced by "tension states" or internal imbalances actuated by bio-chemical stimulation to "chained" reflex activities.
 - b. Very likely, they are "survival" mechanisms primarily of the
 - (1) *appetitive*, and
 - (2) *defensive or protective* types.
- 3. *Inborn temperamental predispositions*
 - a. Associated, of course, with the glandular organization of the human organism.
- 4. *Intellectual capacities*.

Note: Although we have classified these into a set of pigeon-holes, we should note that these represent *phases* of total organic activity from the outset. E.g., if we presume a temperamental disposition marked by apathy, that should certainly reflect itself in the strength of certain organic drives and later on in the type of intellectual adjustments an individual makes.

- a. Endowed with varying intensities and qualitative differences of these endowed factors, the child achieves early *accidental adjustments* to his environment in keeping with the ways in which the early outgoing releases of his biological tensions were accorded response by the human "culture-bearers" in his environment.

Note: In the earliest stages of his development, note how cultural values are *expressed* differently by the human agents and consequently, how they "fix" differing adjustment-techniques on the parts of different individuals. Compare, for example, the behavior of the peasant mother who places her child to the breast whenever he cries and the "modern mother" who feeds her child according to rigid schedule regardless of how much he cries. In the case of the first child, crying immediately produces anticipatory tactual and gastronomic sensations which, when forthcoming, lead to a cessation of crying while in the case of the second child such crying-activity leads to wholly different consequences. Life for the very young child consists of a myriad of such adjustments which, *unbeknownst to him*, represent cultural values from the outside.

C. *Certain adjustment-techniques, at the very earliest, appear to tend to persist:*

1. This is based upon our presupposition that the sensitive afferent and efferent neural connections conform to a pattern when satisfactions are afforded to organic imbalance. (Partial evidence: Semon, W. B. Cannon, et al.)

D. *These Techniques Tend to Persist because of:*

1. The *routine adjustments* made by adults to young children,
2. The *qualitative differences* in response of young children—
 - a. Basic patterns of response-tendencies are laid down for the child which inevitably appear to constitute a "core" of his personality.

These are essentially characteristic patterns of response which impart a "core of consistency" to the personality of the individual. (Primary recognizable *determinative* patterns appear to be laid down between 2nd and 6th years. These are in no way to be construed as fixed or unchangeable patterns, but primarily "*determinierende Tendenzen*." We would concur with Allport, at this point, in the view that they simply provide an historic nexus in the growth of personality but would certainly quarrel with his failure to recognize the causal significance of this condition. Allport, it appears, overlooks an important phase in the development of immanent causation and raises a "straw man." See his *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, New York, 1937, Chap. VII. Vide: Gesell, McGraw, Allport, et al.)

- b. We may call this "core of personality" the *psycho-genetic pattern* of the individual. (Abbreviation: "p.g.p.")

E. *The structure of the "p.g.p."*

1. The "*need*" phase: Although organically derived, the need or needs acquired through early development (possibly, 2nd-6th years: see above) are the results of encounters with the environment. Thus, they represent the organic drives which have become modified and canalized through the conditions of response set up by the environing adults.

Illustration a. *Child A*: An energetic child who wails lustily for his food may or may not receive immediate attention. If the tendency is to give him attention because of his persistence in loud crying, he may acquire a basic "need-trait" of continuous effort to gain his end (or surcease from inner tensions). By a process of growth, we may witness the following transformation:

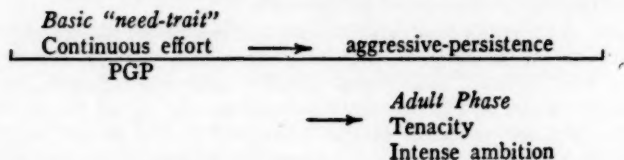
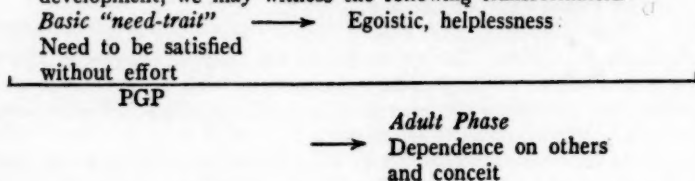
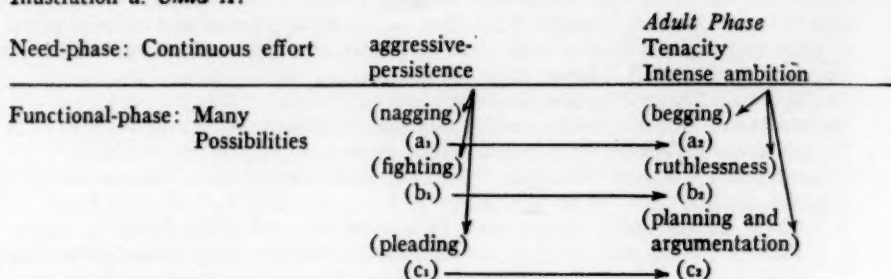


Illustration b. *Child B*: Each drive is anticipated so that a basic "need-trait" of being satisfied without effort on his own part is laid down. Similarly, by a process of development, we may witness the following transformation:



2. The "*functional*" phase: Closely related to developed "needs" are the early acquired methods through which the child learns to satisfy the needs. (Fundamental to this entire structure, the sociologist should see the mechanism of the conditioned response.) E.g., whining, crying, nagging, fighting, being "cute," helping himself, etc., become techniques of attaining satisfaction for the needs.

Illustration a. *Child A:*

3. Possible Types of Psychogenetic Structure

Needs

- a. Aggressive-persistence
- b. Egoistic-helplessness
- c. Apathy-isolationism
- d. Sporadic-aggressive

Possible Related Functional Aspects

- Pugnacity, planning
Appeals for sympathy, weeping
Conforming to group demands
Occasional pugnacity or co-operation

(1) Note how these are related to the conventional extrovert, introvert, schizoid, cyclothymic types.

(2) Note also that these represent behavioral tendencies which become socially significant only as they are "processed" into different types of socially and culturally recognized behavior.

Instead of the names employed, we might use the designations X, Y, Z, etc. They are premised upon movements towards and away from significant objects, fulfilling the suggested pattern laid down by G. H. Mead in his conception of "truncated activity." For description of this last point, the reader is referred to G. H. Mead, "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol," *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 19, 1922, and various others of his writings.

4. The "p.g.p." is organic and sub-cultural and becomes crystallized, well defined, and patterned in relation to the GENERIC STATUS conferred upon it.

The "p.g.p." is primarily organically derived and is a unique physiologico-psychological mechanism, although the patterning has been accomplished in the primary groups. The term, "sub-cultural," taken from Folsom's usage in a different context appearing in the early edition of *The Family: Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry*, appears to suggest a valid interpretation of the essential character of this mechanism—"sub-cultural" since it expresses an early *socially developed* need not elaborated, as yet, into a *socially recognized* or conventional form.

F. The Generic Status and the "p.g.p."

1. The characteristic responses of the young child, as conditioned by the "p.g.p.," become conveniently labeled by the adults around him.

Thus, the "aggressive-persistent" child (Type 1) wins the epithet of bully, fighter, cruel and selfish child, etc. [Note: This narrows down the range of the possibilities of his "p.g.p." in view of (1) The fact of his growing conception of what bullies, selfish children do, etc., and (2) Since the individuals who give him the epithet entertain attitudes toward him appropriate to bullies, fighters, etc.]

G. The generic status becomes determinative of the roles he will play in social relationships.

1. Given a certain generic status, the child will play certain roles in the various fields of social activity in keeping with this status. E.g., the bully will become the leader (perhaps) of his gang, the town "bad-boy," the "high-pressure" salesman, the "tough labor-boss," etc.

The egoistic-helpless type may fit into the generic status of the "nice, quiet boy." His roles, then, the "sissy," the "idealist," the "profound, serious" type, etc.

H. Culture creates patterns of behavior, or "Gestalten" for the different roles.

1. Thus, the performance of a role predisposes to other activities; to-wit, the "profound and

serious" boy must also be refined, neat in his appearance, considerate of others, must not swear, etc.

Note: These traits, then, are not pursued for themselves but because fundamentally they "express" the need of the psychogenetic pattern.

I. *The roles lay down the bases for the habits that determine our lives.*

- i. Habits, thus, are predisposing tendencies to meet certain situations in certain ways in accordance with the roles that are operative in certain situations. (Essentially John Dewey's conception of habits.)

Illustration: The "quiet, refined, serious boy" may be expected to be bookish. His teachers may prefer him, encourage him to become a good student—in fact, set up certain conditions so that it becomes difficult not to be a conscientious student. Similar situations, later on, tend to elicit this appropriate behavior. Compare the deportment of the good student with that of the energetic, non-studious individual in the college library, the classroom, in respect to posture, sustained interest, time wasted in sharpening pencils, fidgeting, etc.

J. *The roles determine, through the complex habit-patterns that relate to them, the attitudes.*

- i. The attitudes may be said to be the latent tendencies to respond to meaningful social experiences which have come to represent social values.

Illustration: The pugnacious role may lead to favorable attitudes toward "rough-house" sports, capital punishment, direct action in politics, etc.

K. *The attitudes, because of the limitations of the type of environment in which they operate, become focalized or narrowed down to certain specific wishes.*

i. *Illustrations:*

- a. A favorable attitude towards competitive, bodily-contact sports may lead to the wish, on the part of the slum boy, to become a Golden Glove boxing champion; on the part of the upper-middle-class boy, to become an All-American football player.

- b. A favorable attitude towards scholarly quiet, on the part of a slum Irish-American boy, may lead to the desire to become a priest. A boy in more fortunate circumstances with the same general favorable attitude, may express this in the desire to be a writer, a college professor, a researcher in some special field, etc.

2. *The classification of wishes: W. I. Thomas*

- a. New experience, security, response, recognition.

Note: This is just one of many possible classifications.

- b. The intense desire to have one set of wishes satisfied at the expense of the others points inevitably to a basic and insistent psychogenetic need which is not being adequately satisfied.

Thus, we have here, a clue to personality maladjustment. E.g., the woman who centers her whole life around her home in expressing an intense need for security.

L. *The emergence of the sex drive impinges upon the psychogenetic organization after it already has become firmly entrenched.*

- i. The sex drive thus becomes canalized according to the already existent network of roles, attitudes and wishes.

2. The Freudian contribution, thus, must be utilized in relation to the system we have set up.

M. *Illustration of how the Freudian contribution may be utilized within the socio-psychological framework.*

i. *The three basic conceptions:*

- a. The unconscious (relates to traumatic shock-effects upon the "p.g.p.").

- b. Repression (relates to the necessity to conform to the "p.g.p.").

- c. Transference (relates to the attitudes towards persons conditioned by role and status).

Note: The translation of the chief Freudian concepts into the requirements of this framework has already been done, and beginning supporting evidence is to be found in the work of Abraham Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, and Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*. The following simply suggests how some of the major categories may be systematically transliterated into the sociological frame of reference.

- d. The unconscious wish: the unloading of energy in wrong channels manifesting itself in the form of neurotic symptoms.
2. *Repressions, resistance, transference.*
 - a. "... everything in the mind that might lead to a psychic disturbance was once conscious and, becoming no longer consciously bearable, was driven into the unconscious." (The orthodox Freudian position.)
 - (1) Hence, concept of free associations
 - (a) Projection
 - (b) Rationalization
 - (2) What is repressed?
 - (a) Depends upon the goal (wish) and the intellectual character ("p.g.p.") of the individual.
 - (b) Pleasure-pain principle.
 - (3) Degree of repression.
 - (a) The type of mental data.
 - (b) Reaction pattern of the personality.

(I.e., the nature of the organization of the individual's "p.g.p." from the standpoint of "need" phase and "functional" phase.)
 - b. Transference.
 - (1) Positive and negative.
 - (2) The dissolution of the transference experience.

(Accounted for on the basis of directed person-to-person relationships providing congruent or non-congruent effects in the operation of the "p.g.p.")

Note: This phase of the outline is simply suggestive. The manifold Freudian conceptions, including the Freudian dynamisms which are already operationally treated on the sociological level, as well as the conceptions of free association, mistakes, dream-manifestations, the complexes, the libido and the various other exhibits of the Freudian pantheon may likewise be interpreted on the operational socio-psychogenetic level. In fact, they are already rapidly becoming "respectable citizens" under the sociological reformative influence.
- N. Personality maladjustments and personality-situational changes arise because of obstacles, impedimenta and frustrations placed in the way of the psychogenetic drives as these occur within the framework of normative sociological and cultural conditions expressed through the processes of social interaction.

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ADOLESCENT STATUS DEMANDS AND THE STUDENT EXPERIENCES OF TWENTY SCHIZOPHRENICS*

N. J. DEMERATH

Tulane University†

Feelings of social rejection and inferiority characterized the subjects' pre-psychotic student experiences. These feelings were linked with a characteristic inability to associate with fellow students intimately and informally, and with the acceptance of adult norms of scholarly excellence, moral perfection, and submissiveness. Not without significance for a theory of schizophrenia, these cases support the hypothesis that the individual who successfully adjusts to adult demands must have prepared himself in the informal group life of adolescence.

SOCIOLOGISTS have emphasized two basic concepts in their analyses of the phenomena of adolescence, namely, group and status. Znaniecki, Waller, Reuter, Lewin, and Dollard have presented general theoretical analyses of the adolescent age group.¹ Linton, Parsons, Mead, Davis, and Cottrell have viewed adolescence as one of several statuses among the primary age and sex categories of our social structure.² The general formulations of these writers are validated by the data collected by psychologists, teachers, and anthropologists as well as by common observation. Yet, the specific prob-

lems which these formulations raise with regard to individual adjustment and behavior have hardly been considered by empirical researchers. This paper, however, is a partial report of a study conducted by the author in which certain hypotheses derived from the various status analyses of adolescence were examined in relation to case materials.

Adolescent adjustment in our society was conceived to be a four-fold process intermediate to childhood and adulthood wherein the individual is oriented toward four predominant status demands or goals. These are: (1) emancipation from the parental family, (2) the establishment of intimate cross-sex relationships, (3) achievement of economic independence, and (4) achievement of peer group acceptance and participation.³ The twenty case histories had been prepared in unusual detail by the psychiatric staff of the McLean Hospital, Waverly, Massachusetts, where the subjects had been hospitalized as schizophrenics. Space limitations permit no excursus on the methodological ramifications of using clinical materials. We note, however, that the value of clinical research for understanding the meaningful nuances of non-clinical society and culture has been frequently emphasized.⁴

* We use the term "peer" rather than "contemporary" because it is a shorter word, and because no two persons are truly contemporaneous, as Blos has observed. Cf. P. Blos, *The Adolescent Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941).

† For example, see E. Sapir, "The Contribution of Psychiatry to an Understanding of Behavior in Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43: 862-

* This paper was presented at the meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, April, 1942.

† Presently on leave, and with the National Housing Agency, Office of the Administrator, Washington, D.C.

¹ F. Znaniecki, *Social Action* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936); W. Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932); E. B. Reuter, et al., "Sociological Research in Adolescence," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 81-94, 1936; J. Dollard, et al., *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939); K. Lewin, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Concepts and Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 868-896, 1939.

² R. Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 589-603, 1942; T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure," *Ibid.*: 604-616; L. S. Cottrell, "The Adjustment of the Individual to his Age and Sex Roles," *Ibid.*: 617-620; M. Mead, *From the South Seas* (New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1930, one volume edition of earlier books); K. Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, 5: 523-535, 1940.

and that the status demands which our subjects experienced were essentially the same as those experienced by "normal" youths in similar social positions whose cases have been assembled by the Progressive Education Association.⁵ The subjects were native born, white children of native born, Protestant parents. Ten were males, ten were females, and none was more than thirty years old at the time of first hospitalization. Their fathers were either skilled workers, business or professional men, and in as much as \$60 a week was the minimum hospital charge, economic class backgrounds were relatively high. With the exception of two high school seniors, the subjects were either college students or college graduates.

It was evident from the pre-psychotic histories of our subjects—made up very largely of psychiatric interview materials—that school groups and activities had provided settings for social adjustment that were of primary importance, along with family, dating, and occupational groups. This is scarcely peculiar to the social histories of schizophrenics since it is in connection with the secondary school and college that the inter-generation conflict reaches the proportions generally characteristic of adolescence in our society, with teachers and students representing the inclusive age groups (and cultures) to which they belong. Youth and adult cultures often disagree in their definitions of specific school situations (the classroom, the dance, the committee meeting, assembly, etc.) and in their criteria of social superiority-inferiority (the "fine young man" in contrast to "the swell guy," "the sweet young lady" as opposed to "the hot number,"

870, 1937; R. Park, "Personality and Cultural Conflict," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 25: 95-110, 1930; E. Mayo, "Psychiatry and Sociology in Relation to Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43: 825-831, 1937; J. Plant, "Sociological Factors Involved in Personality Disorganization," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 9: 113-118, 1929.

⁵ This generalization is based on fifty of these cases which Dr. Caroline Zachry made available to the author. A few of the cases have been published in P. Blos, *op. cit.*, and in C. Zachry, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941).

"the gentleman-scholar" in comparison with "meatballs" and "greasy grinds"). Youths are often convinced of the reasonableness of their values and the utter stupidity of adult evaluations. Adults, on the other hand, tend to be equally certain that all youth activities and evaluations which do not coincide with grown ups' plans are nonsensical and purposeless. Very often they fail to appreciate the importance of peer group participation for adolescent adjustment and the achievement of full sociological adulthood. The adult-youth conflicts thus generated are anything but rare in our society. The individual adolescent finds himself in the paradoxical position of a soldier who knows he must some day join the camp of the enemy and, in fact, desires to do so in order to gain the freedom and privileges so attractive to him. Nevertheless, in order to do this he must first win his struggle for status as an adolescent and subsequently gain recognition as an adult.

But, according to our subjects, precisely what difficulties and frustrations, pleasures and satisfactions did they experience as students? How singular, how "abnormal" do these experiences appear to have been? On the other hand, to what extent do these experiences appear to have been linked with general adolescent status demands?

Academic Performance. The academic experiences of our subjects were both lengthy and well documented in most cases. Five were college undergraduates at the time of hospitalization, and three were graduate students of physics, literature, and medicine, while a fourth was enrolled in a law school. Seven patients had already received undergraduate degrees, while two had withdrawn before fulfilling the requirements. Only two of the subjects—both high school students—had failed to complete at least two years of college. As students, eight had been definitely and consistently superior, although the intellectual superiority of one was questionable inasmuch as he had plagiarized in an attempt to obtain a better grade. Seven were average students, one had a poor record, and there was no information concerning the scholarly abilities of four patients.

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Six of the eight superior students greatly regretted having slighted the extracurricular group activities of their peers. All of them had sought scholarly superiority partly as a compensation for social inadequacy and group rejection. As one boy put it quite typically,

I was working at my mark. I was a foolish kid that way. I went to school there and I—just didn't—I don't know. I got reality out of the darn thing, out of those darn books and stuff. I didn't get reality out of making love and out of being with people and out of friendship and all the rest of it. . . . I studied hard at home and then went to school and I could take it easy there in the morning. I knew what it was about and I didn't have to—I didn't have to be panting all the time and right on my toes all the time. I knew what it was about and I could sit there and have a good time, I suppose. I could be on some kind of an equal basis with the teacher and understand it.

In high school one girl had read rather widely in child psychology and had frequently pointed out the faults of her teachers and of her mother. Her unhappiness and asociality carried over into college where, according to the college psychiatrist, she was highly ambivalent in her attitudes toward her work and toward her associates.

She was steadily embarrassed by her lack of social grace and the premium that was put on it in residence life. Toward the latter half of the year (her freshman year) she gravitated to a group of quiet, serious-minded, ambitious girls, all of whom are rather poor mixers. They were the leftovers after the more self-determining students in their particular dormitory had already formed groups on the basis of choice and congeniality. Sometimes Sarah was pleased with her work, but more often she was blaming the college for its dull instructors and then alternating this with criticism directed to herself.

Although superior grades, increased security in the class-room, and the approval of teachers were the rewards of diligent study, scholarly competition was painful and fraught with disturbing fears and anxieties in several cases. One patient declared:

I didn't get any satisfaction out of life that led me to think that I was anybody at all. I was

so darned tired out and so weary and so gone I guess. I was so darned scared about school and about the teachers and about the work there and about it all, that I went home every night with a fear in me of not getting it all down pat. If I didn't get every single study perfectly correct I wouldn't be able to sit there in class the next day and be confident.

Another student worked so hard in high school to maintain his superiority over a girl whose parents were anxious for her to graduate at the head of her class that, according to his parents, he almost became ill. The girl competitor was said to have been very much in love with the patient, but he never showed any amorous interest in her. His inability to realize his perfectionist goal as a scholar was very disturbing in college and in graduate school. He felt that one of his fellows seemed to make better marks and get all the recognition from the professor, whereas no matter how hard he studied or how good work he did, the professor did not appreciate his abilities at all.

Disorganizing Ideas. Certain ideas introduced in class lectures and assigned reading were believed to have been etiologically significant in the cases of four women and one man. The difficulty of one patient, according to her husband who was a psychologist, began when she studied abnormal psychology. Her instructor invited the members of the class to bring their problems to him. The patient, being somewhat intrigued by him personally, had a heart-to-heart talk about some of her home problems and he suggested a period of free association with him which she carried out. After the course was over and the instructor had left the city, the patient continued her free association first with her husband, and then with others. The patient's husband felt that she never really got back on her feet following her academic course. The mother and sister of another woman patient believed that she had read a great many books which ". . . didn't do her any good—such as Van der Velde's *Ideal Marriage*." Several months before her hospitalization she began to keep her younger sister awake nights while she discussed over and over again the idiosyncrasies and

incompatibility of their parents.

Another young woman had been greatly perturbed over the similarities between herself and various cases she read about in the writings of Freud, Jung, Adler and others. A Bible course was particularly disturbing in the case of another patient who declared, "They tore down things and had nothing to build up. They had no business doing that."

In the case of a graduate student of physics, the more theoretical aspects of his work were especially troublesome. At his own suggestion, it was agreed that he should drop all his theoretical courses and continue only his technical and experimental work in the laboratory. He developed a delusional plan of world reformation based on the application of physical principles to economic and social life. He mentioned Heisenberg's principle of uncertainty more and more frequently, and finally became so excited and expansive that hospitalization appeared advisable to the college authorities.

Identification with Teachers. Nine subjects had developed strong identifications with one or more of their teachers which subsequently became very disturbing in one way or another. A young woman became deeply attached to one of her college professors to whom she went for advice, a relationship which continued until a few years before the patient's illness. Her psychotic productions included expressions of guilt regarding this relationship with her professor, an older married woman who seemed to the patient to be far more experienced than the patient's mother. Another young woman said she had left college because she had been very much in love with a male professor who did not reciprocate. He was a man about her father's age, and she thought he looked a good deal like her father. She explained that her "crush" was unlike those of other girls she knew who had "crushes" on professors for a time and then got over them. She could not get over her "crush," and she could not keep her mind on her work.

In the histories of five men there was evidence of rather strong identification with teachers who, with one exception, were also

males. Emotionally freighted rejections also occurred in two of these cases. One subject led a student protest movement which resulted in the ousting of a dean for alleged homosexuality, only to develop a homosexual panic himself a short time later. Another came to realize that "... human beings are more like animals than Gods" when as a child he discovered that one of his teachers did not know that the sun is farther away from the earth than the moon.

The Informal Peer Group. No feature of our subjects' histories stood out any more clearly than their inability to engage in the intimate, informal group life of their peers either in childhood or in adolescence. The absence of such group participation and its attendant satisfactions was definitely indicated in the histories of the nineteen patients for whom relevant data were available. All were acutely aware of their rejections. Although several subjects had formally belonged to various organizations, they had never participated for any time in the informal life of those groups.

One young man developed what he termed "a sour grapes mechanism" in an attempt to gain recognition when he found that he was unable to obtain the positions that he sought in various college organizations. In the summary of a psychiatric interview we read:

He tried to provoke people, first his family, and later when he was excluded from his home, the fellows on *The Daily* and *The Punster* at college. One day he met them all and expounded his theories to them, telling them that they were not co-operative, were not really liberal, and were too smug when world conditions were so terrible. . . . He realizes that his talk was probably a part of "the sour grapes mechanism" since he had tried to make the staffs of both publications and had failed.

One patient who had several boy friends as a youngster was described by his father as "... so sensitive that the world was too much for him. He seemed to have no inner stimulation." What attractiveness he possessed as a companion was due to the fact that, according to his father,

He yielded to anyone's influence and would

probably do anything that he was told just to have company. He would do what he was told even though it was silly. When he was about five or six years old some girls told him to jump from a slight height. He did so and broke his elbow as a result.

As illustrated in the following statement, formal group membership coupled with informal rejection was often as disturbing as complete rejection. A young woman described her reaction to a club meeting, and then provided an account of a dream which followed the meeting.

There was a club meeting last night. She (one of her associates) didn't even ask me to help with the refreshments or anything else. Didn't even come over to speak to me. I suppose I can make the advance. But I don't give a damn. I'm tired of doing that. The only occasion I've been asked to do anything by her was at Winnie's shower where I had to buy a gift, contribute a cake, do a lot of typing, etc., and Fran got all the credit for the shower along with her.

In the dream,

Someone said, "We have separated the sheep from the goats." . . . My dream became strange and horrible. I had been friendly to someone I didn't know, and it seemed that what I thought was important really was very important indeed. I have given people access to my house, thinking they were my friends. But there were some who were friends, and some who hated me and my friends. One of the latter group, whom I shall have to call "enemies," killed one of my friends.

Another patient declared,

I have no gang friends such as the average girl has. I haven't been willing to take my place with my contemporaries. Rather I clung to the older generation, although I was always pleasant to the younger. I shared no real confidences with anybody until I began sharing them with the doctor.

Acceptance of adult norms was evident in cases wherein the patients insisted on evaluating the behavior of their peers in accordance with certain official adult criteria. A girl preached to her fellows on the evils of rouge and lipstick, and was enraged when she saw other members of her Latin class

cheating and using translations. According to her mother, this girl ". . . never appeared to feel that she really belonged to any group as a normal person seems to do. She always seemed somewhat alone, although she usually had one or two acquaintances." To their peers, these patients must have appeared "snooty," "snobbish," and "too particular."

Conclusions. From the welter of factual details just presented, the following generalizations emerge. (1) Our subjects seldom participated in the intimate, informal group life of their peers. (2) They were, in many ways, precocious adults eager to comply with adult demands in regard to scholarly excellence, moral perfection, and submissiveness. (3) Their eagerness to conform to the official adult norms no doubt earned for them the rebuffs, ridicule, and social rejection of their peers. (4) As a whole, the pre-psychotic student experiences of our subjects were not essentially different from the experiences of many non-psychotics. Anxiety over grades, being disillusioned with one's teachers, disappointment with peer group rejections, etc.—these are common enough experiences. They do not, however, commonly produce the emotionally freighted reactions which they did in the cases of our subjects.

Detailed information is lacking with regard to the personality attributes of our subjects. However, the indirect evidence which we have tends to corroborate the trait criteria for adolescent group inclusion-exclusion described in Tryon's report.⁶ She found that physical attractiveness, social ease in heterosexual situations, aggressiveness, efficiency and fearlessness in physical conflict are demanded of boys, whereas the girl is expected to be "a good sport" and be attractive to boys.⁷ These traits were very likely conspicuous by their absence in the

⁶ C. Tryon, *Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents* (Washington: National Research Council, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1939).

⁷ Tryon found that trait evaluations differ markedly as between twelve and fifteen year olds. Here we have considered the evaluations of fifteen year olds because they would more nearly approximate those of adolescence.

personalities of our subjects.

In connection with the more purely academic experiences, several highly suggestive considerations may be noted. As might have been expected in view of the fact that completeness of interview materials and, consequently, ability to verbalize and introspect were criteria used in selecting the histories, a disproportionate number of the patients were clearly superior students. There was evidence in each of these cases, however, that scholarly superiority had been sought partly as compensation for social inferiority and rejection in informal peer group life. Moreover, the extensive reading of the academically superior, as well as of others, functioned partly as a mechanism of escape from painful, ego-violating social interaction. The influence of ideas acquired from class lectures and course reading may also be noted. Not only did these subjects tend to identify strongly with teachers, and generally assimilate and hold to conflict engendering norms of the official adult culture with what seemed to have been unusual intensity, but certain ideas of academic psychopathology were of some importance in the reactions of four women, two of whom were superior students and two of whom were average. A little psychological knowledge seems to have been a dangerous thing in these cases, since it contributed to the pre-psychotics' defining of their own behavior as potentially or actually "abnormal" and psychotic. These attitudes toward self seem to have functioned as catalyzers in the development of "appropriate" symptoms, conflicts, and complexes. The process is much the same in the case of the "quasi- or pseudo-neurotic" who actually is performing, let us say, with ninety percent efficiency, but who, upon learning of

neurotic mechanisms and symptoms, may become neurotic. Perhaps this is one of the inevitable dilemmas of the higher learning and of psychology that should not be mentioned in public.

The infrequent participation of these subjects in the informal, student group life of their peers lends support to one of the hypotheses developed in the larger research from which this paper has been taken. That hypothesis is: Extensive and intimate participation in the informal groups of one's peers at adolescence is necessary for the successful adaptation to adolescent status demands generally as well as to adult status demands. It would seem that the niceties of social adjustment learned in the informal group life of adolescents are in many ways more directly relevant to subsequent adult adjustment, and are less easily dispensed with, than many of the abstractions and Utopian ideals of the class-room and textbook. While the more academic skills and knowledge transmitted through the process of formal education are unquestionably important in the individual's becoming an adult, such skills and knowledge may be virtually worthless if he fails to master the elementary intricacies of social relations one way or another. "Education common"—as Henry Seidel Canby called it—seems to be one of the best ways of mastering such social techniques. Also, by participating in the variety of closely knit peer groups (fraternities, clubs, teams, and random associations) the adolescent finds himself in a familiar and meaningful universe made up of similarly situated people from whom he may derive motivation and sympathetic support for his inevitable conflicts with the parent generation.

"SOCIAL CHARACTER" AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT

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The concept of group character is finding increasing use by social scientists. This paper proposes to standardize the term *social character* and to construct a sociologically acceptable definition. The term is made a normative one, embodying the relationship between culture norms and the generality of their individual acceptance. The determination, then, of the social character of any group becomes the problem of the specification of the group ideals and the ascertaining of their correlation with actual behavior. Four categories of such relationship are set up for research.

THE concept of *group character* recently has found its way into sociological literature. The contribution, however, is one not from the sociologists proper but from the anthropologists and psychologists, including the psychoanalysts. This concept of group character is intended to satisfy an obvious and growing need in the current theoretical orientation of the social sciences. Recent studies in the interpenetration of culture and personality searchingly focus attention on the psychological aspects of the relationship of the individual to his social group and demand the forging of a conceptual tie between personality and the social process.

But although the problem has been posed and the need for the concept recognized, there is as yet no agreement on terms, little concern with the methodological issues and almost no consideration of the implications for sociological theory. Many partial and conflicting formulations are used. In the literature there now exists, besides the term "group character" itself, a dozen other designations: "average character," "group personality," "social character"; etc. Margaret Mead uses the term "tribal personality," while Dr. Cora Du Bois makes some insistence on "modal personality."

All these terms roughly express the idea that "under certain conditions one person is like another." The problem lies in the adequate specification of wherein and to what extent the "likeness" consists and what are the conditions. In view of the long terminological confusion over such concepts

as "personality," "character," "attitude",¹ etc., it is not surprising that the still newer and even less standardized terms are in verbal chaos. Before examining the theoretical problem, I shall illustrate the current difficulty as reflected in the language of two outstanding contemporary writers, Erich Fromm and Abram Kardiner.²

Both Fromm and Kardiner direct extended remarks to the term "social character." They present what is at first an apparent antithesis of views. Kardiner says:

A group cannot have a character any more than it can have a soul. This anthropomorphism is misleading. What creates the impression of a group character is the operation of general sanctions, which when universally followed may lead to the apparent absence of certain character traits (p. 87).

Fromm says:

In studying the psychological reactions of a social group we deal with the character structure of the group, that is, of individual persons; we are interested, however, not in the peculiarities by which these persons differ from each other, but in that part of their character structure which is common to most members of the group. We call this character the *social character* (p. 277).

¹ For a review of the prevailing confusion in the use of many of these terms, see Gordon W. Allport: *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, Henry Holt & Co., 1937.

² Erich Fromm: *Escape from Freedom*, Farrar & Rinehart, 1941.

Abram Kardiner: *The Individual and His Society*, Columbia University Press, 1939. Page references here are to these two volumes respectively.

On analysis much of this discrepancy is simply on the verbal level, and even on this level it is not persistent, as, for instance, the following quotation from Fromm shows:

... we have assumed that ideologies and culture in general are rooted in the social character; that the social character is molded by the mode of existence of a given society; and that in their turn the dominant character traits become the productive forces shaping the social process (pp. 296-297).

Disregarding superficial language differences, the conceptualization of Fromm is virtually identical with Kardiner's primary institutions → into basic personality structure → into secondary institutions. Kardiner himself says as much:

None of the people who use one of these concepts makes any acknowledgment to anybody else who uses another form of it. The strange thing about all these terms is that they have precisely the same connotation, and in the method used to derive the so-called 'modal' or 'tribal' personality, they use precisely the same procedure as I outlined.³

Yet in these various formulations there are certain implicated distinctions relevant for sociology. For example, under Kardiner's conception of character as a mere individual variant of basic personality structure, it would seem that Kardiner is logically obliged to minimize the socially functional significance of character,⁴ while Fromm ascribes

³ From personal correspondence, Kardiner to the author.

⁴ Kardiner completely disagrees with my interpretation here. He contends "I do not venture outside the range permitted me by the actual material at hand, and so I do not undertake to treat the social relevancy of character variations because I had no such materials available for this book (*The Individual and His Society*). I am now engaged in writing a second volume. (*The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, to be published by Columbia University Press, 1944) which takes up this very question, for I now have materials pertinent to this theme."

Despite Kardiner's express statement, I feel he has not wholly reconciled the methodological dilemma. In his conceptual framework basic personality structure, as distinguished from character, is a product formation of the primary institutions and this basic personality structure in turn molds the

to character both an individual and a social function. Fromm says:

... the subjective function of character for the normal person is to lead him to act according to what is necessary for him from a practical standpoint, and also to give him satisfaction from his activity psychologically.

If we look at social character from the standpoint of its function in the social process, we have to start with the statement that has been made with regard to its function for the individual: that by adapting himself to social conditions man develops those traits which make him *desire* to act as he *has* to act. If the character of the majority of the people in a given society—that is, the social character—is thus adapted to the objective tasks the individual has to perform in this society, the energies of people are molded in ways that make them into productive forces that are indispensable for the functioning of that society (p. 283).

Kardiner's objection to the conceptualization of culture in terms of character harks back to an old methodological controversy involving the levels of abstraction. Character designations such as "paranoid," "introverted"; etc., are not applicable as culture descriptive labels, he holds, because "to regard character as an irreducible racial or cultural idiosyncrasy is at once to use a psychological designation and at the same time

secondary institutions. In the whole process character appears to play a minimum functional role. In fact, this constitutes in another form one of my chief criticisms of Kardiner's scheme—it is one-directional, not fully interactional, in that it provides no mechanism by which secondary institutions can work back on basic personality structure and through it on the primary institutions. The trouble here, as I have sought to show elsewhere (*The Concept of the "Social" in Neo-Freudian Literature*, to be offered as an M.A. thesis, Columbia University) lies in Kardiner's treatment of institutions. Primary institutions in Kardiner's conceptualization take on the character of a "given," existing prior to and back of the social process, an implication which is, of course, totally anti-sociological. A source of Kardiner's difficulty, I feel, rests in his concept of character as a strictly psychological phenomenon, rather than as a normative abstraction. In his usage Kardiner is not in accord with many authorities in his own field. For instance, Allport (*Personality*) defining character as "personality evaluated," says "it is sounder to admit frankly that it is an ethical concept" (p. 52). And Allport finds no need for it as a psychological term.

to deny the validity of the psychological derivation of character." Kardiner adds: "The result is no different if instead of using a character trait, we designate cultures through a formula which expresses 'instinct' repression."

All this sort of conceptualization is faulty, Kardiner argues, because "it confuses the boundaries between individual and institution." He says:

Comparisons between societies on a dynamic basis cannot be made by general terms describing predominant traits or characterological types as they are found in the individual. Such comparisons can be safely established only by comparing institutions and then comparing the end results in the individual (p. 87).

Kardiner's thought along this line shows an inflexibility that is chiefly the result of his definitional bases. This dilemma which Kardiner cites is for Fromm wholly artificial.⁵ Methodologically, the advantage of Fromm's formulation is in the substitution of the concept *modality* for that of *range*. Fromm specifies social character "as only a selection of traits, the essential nucleus of the character structure of *most members* [italics mine] of a group which has developed as the result of the basic experiences and mode of life common to that group." Hence Fromm can conceptualize individual deviants as falling outside the social character (or, in Kardiner's terms, outside the basic personality structure), while for Kardiner such deviants must be embraced within the range of basic personality structure. This may become crucial when dealing with certain extreme deviants. For instance, Lafcadio Hearn as a character deviant of American culture must, according to Kardiner, "be more like" any American than "like" any Japanese. Fromm, on the other hand, employing a *modal* concept can disregard this deviant as irrelevant to the establishment of the social character pattern.

⁵ For a sociological discussion of the epistemological implications in this problem of levels of abstraction, and an answer to the whole "either . . . or" construct, see G. A. Lundberg: *Foundations of Sociology*, Chaps. I and II, Macmillan, 1939.

And, too, Fromm does much substantively with his concept of social character. He informs it with sociological implications and makes, I judge, a significant contribution to political sociology. Particularly does the concept serve Fromm fruitfully for the clueful inquiry into social ideologies and the sociology of knowledge.

II. I adopt the expression *social character* to satisfy the terminological need already mentioned. My problem at this point, then is that of definition construction, and the remainder of this paper is directed to a methodological exposition of the conceptual content of the term as it can be made sociologically relevant.

The choice of the term *social character* is governed by two considerations. It is probably the oldest of the terms expressing group character. Fromm appears to have been the first to use it and certainly was one of the first to develop the concept.⁶ And despite the fact that Fromm's earlier position is more orthodoxly Freudian than his present one, Fromm believes that in his paper of eleven years ago he said "all the essential things about the social character, as I see it." In the next place, the term *social character* has a normative and evaluative connotation which I make central to its sociological definition.⁷

I define *social character*, then, as a concept embracing the relationship of two component constructs: (1) Those abstracted elements of the culture which function as norms, hereinafter called *culture norms*; and (2) The generality of the individual acceptance of these norms.

Concrete behavior of individuals in groups, including interaction between groups, is primary data for the sociologist. The term *group* itself and *society* are first-order ab-

⁶ *Ueber Methode und Aufgabe einer analytischen Sozial-Psychologie*, Zeitschrift fuer Sozial forschung, Jahrgang, 1932.

⁷ Yet the term does not enjoy unanimous acceptance. Dr. Ralph Linton and Dr. Kardiner both have expressed to me their objection to the expression and to the "value" content of my definition.

stractions from the individuals constituting the interacting system. *Institutions* is a first-order abstraction from the behavior of individuals. *Culture* may be either a summative first-order abstraction covering the additive whole of a society's institutions (in general this is the anthropological usage); or it may be a second-order abstraction denoting the integrative patterns of institutions when those patterns are viewed as a new conceptual configuration.⁸ I use the term *social character* as a second-order abstraction to cover the selective area of culture which embodies the normative, or regulative, standards of the culture. Thus social character is formed around and is expressive of the values of a society—objective goals and aims, morality systems, legal codes; etc. Some of these culture norms have characteristic structural counterparts in the society's institutions, such as the criminal law; while others are virtually non-structured ideals, aphorisms and slogans.

Yet the mere projective system of a society's value configuration is insufficient to delimit social character. In addition, the generality⁹ of individual acceptance of the culture norms is determinant.

Symbolizing culture norms as N, and mass individual reaction to them in terms of acceptance as R, four sets of two-way relationships are possible:

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The plus and minus signs express for N the positive and negative value standards of the culture, and for R the signs express the behavior reaction (including linguistic) of acceptance. For the culture norms the "+" indicates the *prescripts* of the given society, and the "-" indicates the *proscripts*. For R, the "+" indicates general individual accept-

ance of either the prescriptive or the proscriptive culture norms, while the "-" indicates the lack of such acceptance. This absence of acceptance may itself vary from general indifference to actual rejection of the culture norms, but the schematic representation provides no "neutral" point.¹⁰ The correlation of the N and the R factors expresses the relationship between the "objective" and the "subjective" aspects of the culture viewed normatively. But it is essential to remember that both N and R are psychological components of the social character; "objective" and "subjective" are not distinctions between non-psychological and psychological elements, but rather between the psychological elements which are viewed from the standpoint of the group and those which are viewed from the standpoint of the individual.¹¹

Examples of each type of the four sets of relationship are readily at hand:

⁸ That is, no constitutive relationship is possible where there exists intra-personal indecision (the individual "doesn't know his own mind"), or intra-group indeterminism (acceptance-nonacceptance bimodality) resulting from, say, a group conflict situation.

⁹ My concept here closely parallels the Thomas and Znaniecki "value" and "attitude" formulation. (See *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21). "... social theory must include both kinds of data... namely, the objective cultural elements of social life and the subjective characteristics of the members of the social group—and... the two kinds of data must be taken as correlated. For these data we shall use now and in the future the terms 'social values' (or simply 'values') and 'attitudes.'" My term "culture norm" carries the concept beyond the mere "object of activity" into the evaluative; and my term "generality of acceptance" I regard as more sociometric than "attitude," and one which avoids an old area of methodological conflict. "Generality of acceptance" is purely a behavioral term. My analysis also is close to Linton's "overt" and "covert" culture elements. Linton is at work on a manuscript which carries his distinction beyond his original formulation of "overt" and "essential" (*The Study of Man*). Of course, one source of this analysis to which due recognition is seldom adequately made is Durkheim. Durkheim, however, in his exposition of "social fact" made the unfortunate dichotomy between the "social" and the "psychological." His viewpoint was more rigorously clarified by C. Bouglé: *The Evolution of Values*, translated by Helen S. Sellars, Henry Holt & Co., 1926.

⁸ For instance, as treated by Ruth Benedict: *Patterns of Culture*.

⁹ Here I do not factor out the intensity of individual reaction. From other points of view this factor may be crucial; as see, e.g., S. C. Dodd: *A Tension Theory of Societal Action*, this journal, Feb., 1939, Vol. III, No. 1. In regard to the measure of incidence I here regard "acceptance" as a dichotomous (all-or-none variable) non-quantitative characteristic. "Generality" then simply means its statistical distribution as present or not present.

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N+ R+ : This relationship expresses a positive acceptance of prescriptive culture norms in terms of individual behavior. It is exemplified in the ordinary workaday social ethics of a people and in the prescriptive forms of its legal system, such as contract obligation. Most members of our society which positively evaluates property rights act in a manner to uphold the property system.

N+ R— : This relationship expresses a negative acceptance in terms of individual behavior of prescriptive culture norms. One type of it is found in the various normal and ethical flourations (mostly verbal) which fall short of legal support or other institutional embodiment: that is, which lack universal sanction. Our culture moralizes the "helping hand," "love your neighbor as yourself"; etc., but individuals generally counter such mandates by acting in their own interests at the expense of others.

N— R+ : This relationship expresses common individual acceptance of proscriptive culture norms. It is exemplified most typically in a society's legal system (proscriptive law = criminal law) and provides the commonsense observation that criminality is atypical of any society in terms of its own definition of crime. Most persons, that is, are not criminals. In our culture most individuals do not kill their business rivals or abduct their brother's wife.

N— R— : This relationship expresses the generalized rejection of proscriptive culture norms. It is the typical pattern of criminality. It may vary from cases constituting highly penalized violation of law to those of almost complete toleration, such as exemplified in "Thou shalt not covet," or drinking in the prohibition era.

The problem of the designation of the social character then consists in the determination of which type of relationship exists between culture norms and their generalized personal acceptance. Different research techniques are required for the investigation of each.

What are the culture norms? This question will be answered by inquiry into the culture configuration at the level of the concrete, covering the tangible and the kinetic¹² factors

of the culture. This is commonly termed the institutional level. Its indices consist of descriptive accounts of the various institutions, legal systems, moral codes, conventions, verbalizations (to the extent that they *prescribe* rather than *describe* behavior); etc. "Let the sociologist but know the standards of a people and he can infer the chief features of their social history," says Ross.¹³ But these standards are not that in the sense, for instance, that Sumner's *mores* are standards. The latter are standards in the sense of usages, customs, habits; that is, as actual behavior patterns. Culture norms are standards in a different sense, in that they embody the *ought* pronouncements of a society. They are the ideals of action. And my definition of social character centers on the relationship between the *ought* and the *actual* in group behavior. Culture norms, it is true, must be characterized by a people's ever-present awareness of them, but they are not necessarily rational in that they are not always submitted to and are not always compatible with intellectual judgment.

What constitutes a generality of acceptance of these culture norms? This question is answered by inquiry into the individual actions of a society's members. It covers the "subjective" aspect of culture as previously specified and also embraces the kinetic as link between the objective and the subjective. Its indices are established through surveys of how institutions "work" in terms of personal response to them, questionnaires, Gallup polls, face-to-face conversation to the extent that all these specify actually observed behavior reactions. And then the correlation between the N and the R factors can be taken as the specification of social character.

Social character as here defined must be distinguished from *social character traits*.

fallacy of social *vs.* psychological. But Linton's introduction of the "kinetic" is a needed extension of the "material culture" category of the older anthropologists, such as Malinowski. I retain here Linton's tripartite classification but with the repeated insistence that the "elements" of culture cannot be dichotomized into the psychological *as against* the non-psychological.

¹³ E. A. Ross: *Principles of Sociology*, Rev. ed. p. 406.

¹² Linton distinguishes three factors of culture: the tangible, the kinetic (behavioral including language), and the "psychological." His ordering, I fear, is in danger of falling into the old Durkheimian

The latter are first-order abstractions of actual behavior and are the component elements of the social character itself. The social character is a second-order abstraction—the dominant configuration of social character traits from the standpoint of some value reference. It is possible to speak of the social character traits of the American people from the standpoint of a variety of selective values, such as opinions about war, or support of the church. Social character, however, as a second-order abstraction covers the integration of social character traits into a harmonious total value configuration which is marked by generality wide enough to characterize the unit taken as the object of study. This unit may be a dyad, an audience, a sect, a race or a nation.

The fruitfulness of the concept of social character will lie in its predictive possibilities. If we describe the social character of the American people in terms of a dynamic property system as "upholders of private property," and if we are testing the probability of the establishment of a socialist economy in the United States, then we must evaluate this probability relative to the social character in terms of the prevailing culture norm and the mass individual reaction to it. The first and third sets of relationship may express present American social character from different facets. Either we may view our current prescriptive economic system as favored by the general positive acceptance of the people ($N+ R+$), or we may view it as the generalized acceptance of the social proscription of a socialist economy ($N-$

$R+$). Either formulation is equivalent to saying that the system of private property represents a culture norm for our society, and that the majority of American people on the basis of the things they do support and reinforce that norm.

On the other hand, should we find the second and fourth types of relationship superseding the first and third, we should be more hopeful (or more fearful) of the possibility of the introduction of the socialist economy. An increasing finding of the second type of relationship ($N+ R-$) would indicate a generalizing rejection of the prescriptive culture norm of private property value. This might take one of a range of forms, from active subversion of the culture norm in criminal activity, to the widening of a social ethic which had as its goal the abolition of the private property system. To the extent that the fourth type of relationship ($N- R-$) was found increasingly prevalent, it would indicate a generalizing rejection of the proscription against a socialist economy. In the dynamics of the social process such change is always apace; for the determination of social character the place of the balance point in such a moving disequilibrium is always the test.

This definition of social character which I set forth provides a sociological proving ground for its validity and specification in behavioral terms. The definition is intended to serve as an organizing principle, as a framework for research, not, of course, as a substitute for research.

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MONUMENTS: GERMAN PERSONALITY TYPES FORESHADOWING THE COLLAPSE OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

HOWARD BECKER
University of Wisconsin

INTRODUCTION FOR 1943

AMERICANS in general are perhaps no more reluctant to face unpleasant truths than are other peoples, but American liberals of the Wilsonian tradition most certainly are. True, their opponents in the period immediately after World War I were even more unwilling or unable to face the facts, but that is no reason why the liberals of the middle 'twenties and thereafter should have glossed over the obvious difficulties which were leading to the collapse of the Weimar Republic, and eventually to World War II.

During the frenzied inflation summer of 1923, the writer roamed hither and yon across Germany, learning at first hand what the impoverishment of a middle class brings about. Some three years later, in 1926-27, I returned to Germany, and was struck by the evident weaknesses which the political structure had developed in even this short period. At the request of the editors of the *Survey Graphic*, who were then planning a special issue to be entitled "Ten Years of the German Republic," the following thumbnail characterizations, based on many first-hand relations with all the types presented, were prepared and submitted. In spite of the fact that these sketches were done on the spot, so to speak, the editors of the *Survey* apparently felt that it would be best to retain their well-known "we-know-the-worst-but-we're-optimistic" line. Indeed, they expressed themselves to the effect that Americans should learn to look at the bright side of the German Republic.

After the manuscript had been returned by the *Survey* editors, the best that could be done, writing from abroad, was to get fragments into the now defunct monthly, *The World Tomorrow*. The bits chosen by

the editors were only those which could be construed as in some sense supporting *The World Tomorrows'* ultra-pacifist position, so that the net results were highly unsatisfactory.

The article as it stands here is in all essential respects identical with the complete version written in 1927. It is now published with the intention of showing: (1) that at times the American public is not permitted so much as to taste bitter medicine—taffy is handed out even by liberal journals; and (2) that the aftermath of World War II may find us blissfully oblivious of the gathering storm of World War III.

I

Everywhere, everywhere! The corridor leading to the University auditorium: young chaps, some in academic robes, some in old-fashioned spike helmets. Hundreds. "Dead on the Field of Honor." Pathetic, awkward poses in these already-fading photographs: rigid pride, bashfulness, tense anxiety lest the dangling medal might not show, plain boyish clumsiness. The Post-Office: a great dark-brown tablet; names in curlicued gilt letters—"Our Fallen Comrades." Monuments. She-wolf suckling her young, Siegfried, Gothic warriors. Names, row upon row. Everywhere, everywhere the Shadow!

Uncomfortable recollections of Holbein's "Totentanz"; after awhile, death's-heads seem to grin everywhere. Especially when you look at the shiny granite of the monuments.

II

"Well," said the old Prussian major, "everybody knows that Bismarck was a political realist of the first order—in the direct tradition of our great Frederick. If we had

him with us today, we wouldn't see these French dandies strutting about our Rhine-land towns. And to think that the hypocritical League never took any decided course of action after the affair at Germersheim, when the lieutenant shot down two German civilians in cold blood! The effrontery of the verdict: the murderer set free, two years in prison for the wounded survivor! It only goes to show that justice is the right of the stronger.

"'Blood and iron,' he used to say, 'blood and iron.' He would have spoken out against these effeminate creatures who want to make student duelling criminal; when young men break their necks playing football, nobody should object to a few scars, the marks of unflinching courage. . . .

"But he made one great mistake; he helped Germany start on the path of industrialism; and now comes this Ford and wants to make machines of us altogether. Perhaps, as long as the masses breed like rabbits, they must work like machines—but the influence on our Culture this mechanization will have! If only the war had lasted longer; the earth is full of the many-too-many.

"Well, we mustn't think too long about such things, we who have seen better days. Let me show you this porcelain bust of our old Fritz, our Frederick the Great. Isn't it fine? And have you seen my collection of books concerning Bismarck and his times? I'm a great lover of Bismarck. If only these doctrinaire republicans—my son among the number—would study him!

"Yes, yes, those were great days for Germany. Yes, yes."

III

"I've been a Christian minister for a long time, but I never preached such foolishness! Three or four years ago our young people were wild over this Gandhi, and the pacifism of Rolland and Marc Sagnier, but fortunately that wave has begun to ebb. Turn the other cheek? And have it slapped by greasy Frenchmen? See what they did to us on the Ruhr, when we couldn't resist them!

"Of course, when you think back over the events leading up to and during the war,

you know that the British are most to blame for it all. They envied our foreign trade; they feared our army. And to think they're really a Germanic people! They've split off from us, and good riddance, but perhaps we can some day weld the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Hollanders, the Austrians, the Swiss, the Flemish, and the Tyrolese back into our language-group, and so build up a Germany that flows over our strangling national boundaries. They should all speak German, all of them. It's too bad the Germans in America forget their mother-tongue so readily.

"I think it was our great Grimm who said: 'One people' is the general idea that arises when men speak the same language."

IV

"Salamander for our guest!" The steins jerked aloft with mechanical precision, tilted, came down with a resounding thud on the table. "Silencium ex! Colloquium!" Long double rows of students belonging to the "Corporations" they were, in their periodical "Kneipe," where everybody drinks at least enough to get that warm brotherly feeling. The chap opposite, head swathed in bandages (result of a fiercely-contested duel the day before), leaned across the table, almost upsetting his stein.

"Look here, you're a pretty good fellow. But the Americans are pretty good anyway, and you're German descent. Anyway, half German. Good. Say, d'y'know America would never have beaten us if the German-Americans hadn't fought against us too? No, I'm not drunk! Never get drunk on less than seven, and I've had only seven.

"Y'know, you must confess we put up a good fight, didn't we? The whole world against us, cut off from the whole world, and still we kept 'em out of Germany! I was in service myself, y'know.

"Telephone corps, subject to army discipline. Fine thing, army discipline, 'specially the Prussian army. You had a rule for everything—didn't have to worry. You did this, and did that, and when your duty was done, why *you* were done, y'see.

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Entente had to get the Americans to help them. We had the Frenchmen scared to death. Even with the Americans against us we might have held on and got a good peace, except for the damned Jews and Marxists. They stabbed us in the back, y'know.

"S' I was saying, soldier's life's a fine life. Discipline's good for a fellow. Didn't have to worry. Ought to have year or so of universal service now—these youngsters that run around the streets would have something to do, and they'd do it *right*. Y'have a rule for everything—do everything right. You do this, and do that, and when your duty's done, why *you're* done."

V

"Now I always vote the way I think will do most good. I'm a business man, I am, and my vote always goes where it will hit the Social-Democrats the hardest. They stir up class hatred, you see, and you always have trouble with the damned workers.

"Your Ford, now, he's managed to get along without much labor trouble. We're doing our best to copy him over here, but the Communists, and the Social-Democrats, and even the Center, fight our methods all the time. They say that we make the workers produce more, and then don't give them increased wages. Maybe that's true, but how are you going to accumulate capital if you give it all back to them? They'll only drink more beer, anyway.

"The trade-unions are trying to carry out the Washington agreement—introduce the eight-hour day. The idiots! The condition we're in now, and the amounts we're supposed to pay under the Dawes plan, they'd better make up their minds to stick to ten or eleven hours.

"But the Dawes burden may be lightened in the future. If we can get on a good basis with France again. This steel cartel involving the German magnates and the Comité des Forges, and the potassium fertilizer agreement, and the nitrogen combine, may help to ease off the tension. If the Frenchmen will only use a little common sense! We're sick of war, but we want to live, too.

"I was in the States in the spring of '22;

I was certainly discouraged when I came back here and saw what the war had done to us—the contrast was so great! But we'll come back if the workers don't go crazy altogether, and the Frenchmen don't give Poincaré too much power. When Herriot was premier, things looked promising, and even now, if Briand could do as he liked, there'd never be any trouble. If the French voters will only use a little common sense!

"Now, as I was saying, *I'm* a business man, and I always vote the way I think will do the most good."

VI

"We'll never support an imperialist war—certainly not! But I wouldn't mind shooting some of these fat-necked bourgeois myself, if it came to that. They sold the Revolution; Noske was their tool; the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht were carried out in the interests of bourgeois 'law and order.'

"It's not that they've got so much money nowadays; it's their feeling that they're so much better than we are. But we were good enough to stop bullets; oh, yes!

"Bourgeois society the world over is so rotten it stinks. I've got no faith in any of these bourgeois governments that belong to the League, and now that Germany has definitely decided in favor of the West and against the Soviets, it's easy to see where things are going.

"But this unemployment just now, and Fordism, and all the rest of it, will help *our* cause along. The first revolution turns out to have been a 1789 affair; when the next one comes, it will be the real thing. Then Red Germany and Red Russia will squeeze out the Poles, and with Red China. . . .

"Pah, these fat-necked swine of bourgeois!"

VII

"Yes, during the Kapp Putsch. You can see the bullet-holes on this side of our Rathaus. The Kapp forces were in there, and the republicans gradually drove them out. It cost us something to patch up the stained-glass windows, I can tell you. Oh,

there's no more danger of putsches, no, no. That fellow Hitler, for example, was given two years of fortress confinement, and the government was later able to stamp out those two powerful secret drill clubs in Berlin, the Germania and the Olympia; that shows the backbone of the reaction is broken. Count Westarp talks a lot about the restoration of the Hohenzollerns, but the Nationalist party, which he represents, hasn't as much power as it had two or three years ago. *Then* things were ticklish.

"Of course, there's always the possibility that we might have a monarchy again—I don't like this parliamentary twaddle myself—but we'll never have the Hohenzollerns. At least not William or the Crown Prince.

"Come, I'll show you the city council chamber. Here's where I sit, as Assistant Mayor, and over there, around the horseshoe, sit the party groups, all the way from right to left—Nazis (that's National Socialist) to Communist.

"That blank wall-space back of the mayor's seat? Oh, that's where our dear William used to bristle. We took him down after he ran away to Holland, the coward."

VIII

"It's fine to have somebody to talk to. Every student I've had in these rooms has been anti-Semitic except you. How do I know? Why, they were members of duelling Corporations. That means anti-Semitic, almost always. I don't look like a Jewess; they never found out. But I didn't like to talk to them.

"Just after the war it was terrible. The nationalists said the Jews had made the Revolution, and had stabbed the army in the back. They killed Rathenau because he was a Jew, and who knows how many others!

"But they took my son, my only boy! He was good enough to fight for them, to die for them. I used to lie awake so long, so long. When it was cold, that last winter, when we had no fire, I used to think so much about him, buried out there in that cold, wet clay. But I musn't talk about it.

"And he was such a good boy. I never

had to whip him after he learned to keep his clothes clean. . . . Such a good boy . . .

"My man died three months after we heard the news. Nothing but that killed him, nothing.

"Then the government betrayed us! Everybody who'd bought war bonds lost nearly everything, and the money we'd saved dwindled away to nothing. Yes, my own people betrayed me, too. I sold my house in the suburbs out here to a Jewish *Schieber*, and in a little while the money he gave me for it wouldn't buy a box of matches.

"I come of a very good family, but now I rent rooms. I used to have a servant to help me; now I do all the work myself. But Americans don't think any the less of people who work, do they? So my man used to tell me. He was in the States for a long time, in San Francisco. He used to say, 'California, the most beautiful land in the world.' But I was afraid to cross the water."

IX

"Hans told me you would have to spend Christmas alone, so I said, 'Write to him, Hans, and ask him to come to us. We can share our Christmas with a stranger, surely!'

"So this is the first Christmas you've ever spent away from home? How lonely your poor mother must feel, and you the only child! I told Hans that I could be mother to three boys this Christmas.

"Do they have Christmas like this in America? Trees and candles and everything? So? Even in Chicago? With all those gangsters?

"Take some of the cookies. That kind there, that's *Speculatus*. Yes, all those funny little fat men and dogs and kittens are made of *Speculatus* dough. I always make them for the children at Christmas. They're grown up now, but they like them just the same.

"Hans told me that you gave him a book about American students for Christmas—something by Herr Dr. Marx, 'The Plastic Time,' I think. Do Americans like us any better than they did? We must obey the government, after all. Hans tells me that the Frenchmen and the rest called us very bad names. I'm afraid some of our people

called the others bad names, too.

"I don't know, I can't understand, why the dear God sends war. But if we only trust in Him, and do His will, and honor the Christ-Child, everything will some day come right. We must obey the government. Saint Paul said that 'The powers that be are ordained of God.' Luther liked Saint Paul, too.

"But when you go back, you'll tell your friends that we're not wicked people, won't you? It was very hard to know that everybody thought we were wicked, and that we had to write it down in that treaty. Our Kaiser was foolish, like a little boy with a tin sword, but he didn't want war. I know that none of our good people wanted war. I was so glad that Hans was too young to go; when Paul came back he looked really dreadful. So thin! And then all that winter, after we'd signed the armistice, they kept food away from us. That's why our daughter's little girl waggles her head that way.

"You'll be sure to tell them we're not wicked, won't you? That we just try to obey the government, and to trust in God?"

X

"My dear fellow, of course I believe in the Republic! All the really intelligent students are republicans, and there are more of them than you might think. In Berlin the reactionary student groups are able to stay in power only by voting as a unit whenever they are threatened, and also because we, foolishly enough, have all the factional weaknesses of democracy. But, we can afford them. Why, at Heidelberg, at Bonn, at Freiburg, the students left the German Student Federation because its policy was nationalist, Pan-German, and anti-Semitic. Don't let yourself be fooled by this swank and display you see at university ceremonies, where the Corporation students, with their duelling swords and gay uniforms, make fools of themselves with their ritual.

"They are echoes of the older generation, especially of the nobility and the officer caste, who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They're hopeless Romanticists, living in an unreal past. They're dreaming of the day when a Kaiser-Messiah will return

to place his benevolent (but firm) heel on the necks of the chattering parliamentarians. Their actual power dwindles from year to year; the gorgeous picture of the old regime grows dim in the memory of the people. No, no, they're not to be feared, only to be opposed as long as necessary. The old ones will die off, and the young ones will cease to be active when they can't figure in university rituals.

"Speaking of rituals, I must say that I put the great majority of Lutheran pastors in the same class as the nobility and the officer caste. Their power, happily, has been broken along with that of the others. When the State Church was disestablished by the Republic the trick was turned. But perhaps it really means a new spiritual life for Germany—dead formalism, at any rate, no longer brings financial or honorary rewards. With all the contempt I have for Catholics, I must nevertheless admit that the priests never prattled about 'our good old German God' or any of the other Hurrah and Hallelujah. For a time, just after the armistice, it looked as if the Quakers would win over thousands of converts by their unselfish devotion, but I am afraid that not many of us can be Quakers.

"Our greatest problem, I think, is economic and not political, or even religious. Reparations, trade barriers, unemployment, short-sighted employers, class hatred—all the heads of the Hydra. Pan-Europe, the United States of Europe, promises great things, but if it means merely the power of the cartels, the heads will grow again.

"The League? That's a poser. I think that the majority of the people are distrustful, if not utterly skeptical, of its sincerity. The present government takes a more friendly attitude toward it than the feeling of the people warrants, being supported in this by the Socialists, the Democrats, and the Catholic Center. The parties of the Right of course denounce the League as an 'instrument of the victors', and in justice to the Right we have to remember that the Upper Silesia matter was not altogether savory, to say nothing of later occurrences.

"The work of individuals, rather than the League, has brought peace nearer. Since

Briand has been foreign minister, Germans have come to look upon Frenchmen as ordinary human beings. Poincaré, who, figuratively speaking, devoured German babies for breakfast, will certainly never have any friends in this country, but with the exception of temporary flare-ups such as that occasioned by the killing at Germersheim and the Landau verdict, the Germans no longer hate the French with the passionate hatred of the first days of the Rhineland invasion. The British we never hated after the first war-hysteria and, in contrast to the French, really came to like them as persons during the occupation.

"Some of our people regret that America did not enter the League at the very first; it might have saved it from futility. Others think that America has quite enough influence in European affairs, what with the Dawes plan and 'Interallied Debts.' Americanization is a bogey that may have something real behind it, so we think, and we propose to be careful how much of a grip we give to your capitalists; it may be a case of 'give a finger, lose an arm.'

"But toward individual Americans we have no hostility, or even suspicion. We are sometimes amused by their naivete, or won over by their frankness and lack of prejudice. To be sure, the little jobbers and assistant Babbitts who made Unter den Linden smell to Heaven during the inflation were not precisely admired, but after all, there were not many of them and they soon disappeared, to cluster where the exchange was more favorable; namely, Paris. The French, it seems, were not so patient as we.

"So now you know what an upholder of

the Republic, of the Black-Red-Gold, thinks about our present situation! Whatever else you may say when you return to America, don't forget this: the German Republic struggles under a heavy load. Not all Germans are willing to carry the load—they want to cast it off, and with it, the Republic. Needless indignities, insults which the Republic is powerless to resent, discrimination, injustice—all these things help to make the load too heavy. Only the weak hate, and we are dangerously weak.

"Help us to keep our past *in* the past. Upon young men, perhaps students like ourselves, whoever and wherever they may be, rests the responsibility for realizing a fairer world than the one bequeathed to us. We won't make their task harder by *our* blindness, *our* pride, *our* self-will, *our* narrowness—yes, *our* stupidity?"

XI

School is out. Here they come, with their book-satchels on their backs, knapsack-fashion. Some a little ragged, some a little pale, all clean and neat. Six-year-olds, eight-year-olds.

Everywhere, everywhere, these little Händsels and Gretels.

Struggle; bitter, grinding struggle. Poverty. Hope for the future.

The good will in man. Is it real? Will it flicker out?

What lies ahead of these children? Of children everywhere?

More of those shiny granite monuments? Everywhere?

Finis, 1927

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SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND TOTALITARIAN WAR

EDWIN M. LEMERT

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Total war requires planning of civilian as well as military activities. Yet our social control is unstable because of antiquated conceptions regarding individual participation. Citizens are more specialized in their interests and outlooks than traditional theory assumes, yet they are also more capable of individual resourcefulness, within the framework of a plan, than government practices encourage. Total war and also post-war society will demand greater use of this individual creativity, and also the adjustment of conflicting interests through group action and compromise rather than through unrealistic, emotional identification.

THE CONFUSION, contradictory tendencies and schisms in American culture have impressed many observers and writers. The Lynds in their first and second canvasses of Middletown repeatedly commented upon the confusion and bewilderment that seemed to pervade the entire life of the community.¹ Later, Bain, in somewhat more systematic fashion and trenchant style described our monumental cultural confusions as the societal analogy of schizophrenia in the individual.² Thurman Arnold, at his involved best, added the final and definitive note to our peculiar group habit of clinging to folkloristic conceptions not only mutually at odds, but frequently bearing only a nominal allegiance to objective reality.³

While wars have been termed psychological reagents for internal societal conflicts, one is moved to question whether a swift and sound unity has been achieved in the United States simply by its entry into the war. The evidence for such skepticism is abundant: conflicting pronouncements on the same problem by various leaders, the unabated struggle of economic blocs, the equivocation and delay within our national legislature, rivalry and lack of co-ordination between various branches of the armed forces, and uneasy conjecture by laymen about the calibre of plans, material and skill

of military and naval technicians.

The dilapidation of the so-called "war effort" from one point of view can be attributed to the disorganization and chaos naturally attending the rapid shift of a nation to a complete war basis or to the often-mentioned slowness of democratic society in the prosecution of war. As such, they may be expected to disappear with passing time and maturing leadership. From another point of vantage these conflicts can be visualized as the acceleration of trends previously present in our culture to a degree where they seriously impair the efficiency of any collective effort. Time as a dimension of adjustment in this case will only serve to intensify the conflicts and perpetuate them at the expense of sound post-war reconstruction. Pending drastic changes, winning the war is likely to take the form of overwhelming the enemy through myriad diffuse pressures, as when an iceberg slowly rights itself in response to changes in the center of gravity, rather than in the form of a clean-cut military decision.

One of the strangest paradoxes of this war is the spectacle of leaders blaming masses for inadequate participation and frenziedly exhorting them to greater effort while the masses accuse the same leaders of not providing necessary leadership. It is suggested here that this contradiction is in no small part a function of the evanescent and unstable nature of authority in our social system. It has grown out of the persistence of archaic postulates concerning the nature of public opinion and individual participation in society, in the face of accelerated developments in the fields of industrial and military

¹ Lynd, R. S. and H. M., *Middletown*, New York, 1929; *Middletown in Transition*, New York, 1937.

² Bain, R., "Our Schizoid Culture," *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February 1935, pp. 266-276.

³ *Folklore of Capitalism*, New Haven, 1937.

technology. These postulates derive largely from our rural heritage and have tended to be revitalized in current propaganda by virtue of the fact that the war is being fought as a conservative war. We have been set to defend or fight for American traditions or for vaguely-phrased "freedoms."

Deep in the American political tradition, explicit in our democratic ideology is the concept of the individual as the ultimate repository of political power. He is regarded not only as a direct rule-maker of the community, but also a rule-enforcer and an ever-watchful guardian over executive and legislative power entrusted to public agents. The individual in the United States, like the State in Germany, is apotheosized as an omni-interested, omniscient, omniscient agent from whom all social control, formal or informal, originally emanates. It is a major inarticulate premise of our political thought that popular discussion can be not only truly public but that it finally precipitates into a mass opinion, into a consensus at the level of meaning and sentiment as well as at the level of action. Leadership in the minds of most people thus becomes a projection of this consensus onto dominant personalities within the community or government. Failures on the plane of leadership are seen as cumulative failures of individual civic participation. Deductively, no weaknesses are perceived in the system but rather in the way in which it is used. Thus the cure for democracy is more democracy.

The concept of integrating the interests of the individual with those of society as represented by public agents of social control, through the mechanism of identification has made it extremely difficult for most people to grasp and admit the specialized character of their own and other people's social participation. As Walter Lippmann conclusively demonstrated in his *Phantom Public* and *Public Opinion* and R. Angell more recently in the *Integration of American Society*, the omniparticipating traditional citizen is largely a myth. Along with the more organic qualities of the local community he has been sacrificed upon the altar of speed, mobility and technological change. The limitations

of time, income, occupational egocentrism and uni-sensory communication have left the contemporary citizen with but a partial or highly segmentalized interest and participation in so-called *public* issues. This interest is such that it can become meaningful only through canalization and instrumentation by associations known variously as interest or pressure groups. Indeed, it is questionable whether there exists any longer a public opinion in the sense in which many writers use the term. To quote from a student in the field of public administration:

Citizens within their own associations meet and consider their own particular problems. They learn to sort out issues that are near them and which they can understand. Most so-called public questions are nothing more than the private problems of several groups in conflict. The conflict means that the government must act as arbitrator. The substantive nature of the problem is not changed when the dispute is placed upon the public stage. Considerations of national policy may render the problem more complex, but if the parties directly concerned are accustomed to meeting their own common problems within their private associations, the process of framing a compromise is greatly facilitated. This mere fact of organization is important for several reasons. An active and strong association brings about a harmony of viewpoint among its members. The interest of the group is clarified and developed. Group opinion is made articulate.⁴

The lag in the recognition and acceptance of the specialized form of modern social participation and its objective manifestation has produced amazing confusions and guilt feelings, causing individuals to hesitate in the necessary promotion of proprietary interests in larger organizational units and to profess loyalties they do not have. It further leads associations to the very expedient for which they are criticized, disguising specialized interest behind mystical concepts of abstract social entities. Walter Lippmann phrased it well:

There is the least anarchy in those areas of society where separate functions are most clear-

⁴E. P. Herring, *Public Administration and the Public Interest*, 34, New York, 1936.

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ly defined and brought into orderly adjustment; there is the most anarchy in those twilight zones between nations, between employers and employees, between sections, classes, and races, where nothing is clearly defined, and each special interest is forever proclaiming itself the voice of the people and attempting to impose its purposes upon everybody as the purposes of mankind.⁵

The prevalence of the concept of identity between the masses of people and their governmental functionaries, the basing of leadership upon mystical notions of the people's "will" or "voice" or "conscience" is intrinsically related to the conception of public agents as passive servants of the people, or as humble Jacksonian folk taking a turn in office, without special morals or morale of their own. Administrative or executive action is transformed into a frantic pursuit of will-o'-the-wisp authority through a jungle of bureaus, not infrequently ending at the doors of Congress where legislators dance strangely to the sly tunes of ghostly constituents. Politicians and public leaders (even specialists to the extent that they are imperfectly emancipated from the dominance of the legislature) with an ear cocked for the "true" voice of the reified public, sway first one way and then another, depending upon the particular pressure groups in ascendancy and upon their skill in cloaking special interest with the guise of public welfare. The most important implication of these facts is that little in the way of consistent social control is possible; under these conditions social control is a post-crisis phenomenon, i.e., it operates by the percolation of gathering tensions and dissatisfaction from dislocated groups into the area of policy-formation. Legislators and executives pursue a line of compromise and partial adjustments. Authority is based upon transient majorities; this makes long-term or comprehensive programs of social control impossible without the growth of an encysted, unresponsive bureaucracy.

It is against the background of modern war that the anachronistic and disintegrating influences of the traditional concept of indi-

vidual social participation are thrown into sharpest focus. Consideration of a few of the salient features of modern war will serve to bring forcefully to attention the weakness in our system of social control. Modern war differs qualitatively from former wars in being total or unlimited war. Three outstanding attributes of total war can be discerned: (1) the extreme mechanization of the armed forces, (2) the extension of siege warfare enveloping the nation as a whole in both offensive and defensive actions, (3) a close interdependence between the armed forces and industrial production.

Mechanized warfare is noteworthy for the astronomical increases made in firepower, the algebraic multiplication of the soldier's destructive potentialities. The chief effect of these revolutionary accretions has been to destroy the functional efficiency of the hierarchical system of military organization brought to perfection on the plains of Europe by Moltke in the 19th century. Towards the end of the First World War German and Allied tactics began to lose their centuries-old automatism and rigidity, assuming something of the elasticity necessary to cope with the compounded firepower of the western front. Yet German military genius as well as Allied commanders were slow to seize upon the full significance of the new military technology, best evidenced, perhaps, by the struggle of Ludendorf in 1917 and 1918 to eliminate the so-called "paper" command, by which specifically formulated orders streamed down from officers to rank and file soldiery. It was the mechanization of the German army after this war that brought this initial departure to its fullest fruition in the concept of the blitzkrieg, incorporating tactical principles of infiltration, surreptition, swift striking power and the tenuous coordination of arms.

Since the communication of specific orders is precluded by such a fluid strategy, command must perforce be decentralized, with coordination dependent upon the perception and decisions of thousands of small autonomous or semi-autonomous units working within the framework of a highly generalized plan. From a participational standpoint, suc-

⁵ W. Lippmann, *The Phantom Public*, 161, New York, 1927.

cess in this type of warfare is largely a function of carefully trained soldier-technicians, endowed with traits of resourcefulness, quick perception, sustained effort and general intelligence. This soldier must be capable of creative exploitation of situations as they arise and must possess a "volunteer" psychology. His prototype was forged in the machine-gun fire of the First World War; he was the "front" fighter, tough, apathetic, independent to the point of insubordination. Traits such as his cannot be simply commanded into existence, mainly because such soldiers operate far removed from the supervision of their officers. This is undeniably the basis for the careful attention being paid to the cultivation of morale in this war. Where Napoleon assayed the importance of morale in comparison with material at three to one, Major George Fielding Elliot now places the ratio at ten to one.

The second and third characteristics of modern war: the envelopment of the entire nation in offensive and defensive warfare, and the close interdependence between the armed forces and industrial production, have necessitated systematic governmental planning. While most warfare of the past required military planning, it remained for the present conflict to extend large scale governmental planning into almost every area of the national life of belligerents. This has radically circumscribed the freedom of individuals as well as of voluntaristic associations. In many respects the whole nation must present a defense in depth to the enemy and thereby fall under a militaristic system of social control.

There never has been a problem of democratic participation by common soldiers in the formation of strategic plans, which can be laid to the autocratic traditions in the armed forces and to the impracticality of waging war on a democratic basis. However, the intrusion of military necessity into civilian life poses for serious consideration what is to be the role of individual civilians and civilian associations in the formation and execution of national policy.

It must be apparent from any realistic appraisal of the opinion-making process that the socio-economic corollaries of military

planning cannot arise out of the informal discussion processes of traditional rural democracy. It is further doubtful whether plans can be the product of the interaction of pressure groups within the confines of a politically organized legislature. The reason for this is discovered in the fact that planning is the symbolic projection of socio-economic change into the future, plus the promotion of programs frequently irrelevant or detrimental to the immediate needs of associations, and often beyond the understanding of the individual, who is not possessed of the technical knowledge upon which the plan is founded. Planning, moreover, is integral in form, at most the creation of one or a small number of minds. Consequently, it follows that the processes of compromise and accommodation which dominate political interaction are antithetical to the fundamental requirements of planning.

In past wars the legislatures of democratic nations at war have been notably responsive to the requisitions by executive branches of the government. And it is significant that the democratic countries which have been in the present war longer than the United States have much more acquiescent legislative bodies, less dedicated to active policymaking than to the passive sanction of prefabricated plans of executive leaders. The great danger in a democracy such as ours is that in fighting a totalitarian war we may not only take over the technology of our enemies but also adopt methods of social control which will destroy initiative at the level of individuals and associations or by improper techniques change this initiative into apathy or random aggression. This may be a desperate reaction to the inability of the masses to appreciate the implications and meaning of total war, or it may result from borrowing the war expedients of Allied nations. To a lesser extent it may be the outcome of superficial study of techniques of social control employed in totalitarian countries.

In some ways it is unfortunate that in our striving to clarify issues making the war meaningful to individuals and marking off the in-group from the out-group we have stressed such ideas as "freedom" and "indi-

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vidual rights." This has led many to impute categorically a complete lack of initiative and resourcefulness to German and Japanese masses. Yet a survey of German military literature discloses no such blindness to the problem of rank and file participation in war. In preparation for the present war there was a deliberate effort to train a thinking type of soldier. The quantitative rather than the qualitative difference between the German and the American attitude is best brought out by the statement of the German general who said that the "soldier should think, but think only when commanded to think."

The exploits of Japanese jungle fighters should leave us under no illusions as to the synthesizing ability of these soldiers in unfamiliar situations. While less is known of the citizenry in the two countries, their effectiveness in maintaining industrial production and civilian defense speak plainly of the flexibility of adjustment on their part. Those who speak easily of demoralizing the Japanese by bombing their cities should recall the long history of experience with disaster possessed by the Japanese masses.

There is reason to believe that leaders in the United States have not as yet acquired a full understanding of their proper function in a war-planned society. Just as the individual is incapable of the multidimensional thought indispensable to planning, so too is the policy-former incapable of the multidistributive type of thought involved in carrying out plans in thousands of specific situations. While the army is training soldiers for initiative the same trend in civilian programs is somewhat less obvious. One is impelled to look askance at the dictatorship of detail which has appeared in governmental control. Such things as specifying the length of skirts, cuffless trousers, detailed methods of rationing by pounds and quarter pounds, and the recommendation in educational programs of detailed methods of food purchasing and budgeting in many ways seems to be an injudicious invasion by the federal government of areas of local initiative.⁶ From

the viewpoint here adopted the proper function of the federal government would be to assign goals to individuals, groups, communities and regions, indicate the limitations of resources with which they have to work and then stimulate the play of initiative at these different levels of social organization.

It is increasingly apparent that while the individual and specialized groups of which he is a member, under the stress of war, can participate little if any in the formation of national policy, nevertheless, their participation in the interpretation and instrumentation of this policy in their unique capacities takes on even greater importance than in any previous war. This is especially true of the industrial worker in the more highly mechanized industries where the shift to a newer electric power technology has elevated to key importance willing co-operation and general intelligence as traits required of the efficient worker. Hardly less important is the willingness of the masses not only to accept the sacrifices demanded by the war but also actively to exercise ingenuity in improvising material necessities and reorganizing community services to meet new needs. The widespread civilian attitude of regarding the war as a source of inconvenience and the defensive attitudes found in associations call for an energetic educational effort on the part of the community and national government.

Another phase of wartime participation has to do with criticism of policy as imposed by national leaders. As has been shown, it is unsound to expect individuals or associations to undertake comprehensive criticism of national plans. Most such criticism as it gets public expression is in terms of interest. For this reason it should be seen as the

as an average family. Many small families are hard pressed to obtain sufficient rationed goods while many large families fail to use all of their allotments.

While arithmetic averages may be of limited value in planning distribution for large areas or large social units they become inapplicable at the point of consumption. The implicit recognition of dispersion and deviation by setting up ration boards on a local basis fails because they lack discretionary authority. The obvious alternative to a rationing system based upon averages is the illegal trading of ration stamps.

⁶ Howard Bigelow suggests to the writer that a basic weakness of the war rationing program is the use of an average for the distribution of scarce goods. He points out that there is no such thing

success or failure of the larger war plan at its various points of impact upon society rather than as a disinterested evaluation of the whole. The summation, equation and balancing of reactions call for a multidimensional type of thinking beyond the scope and interest of most individuals and associations. However, the complete organization of individuals plus their vigorous participation in groups defining their interest is obviously the prerequisite to communication of criticism to planning authorities. The absence of group interaction articulating the dissatisfactions of individuals leads to the accumulation of emotional tensions and the symptomatic transference of aggression into areas where resistance and indifference are apt seriously to impede national programs, with leaders at loss to make appropriate adjustments.

Of course, the logical verbalization of grievances by pressure groups cannot insure the removal of sources of frustration in all instances. At most in wartime it can obtain an equalization of sacrifice. Consequently, war is bound to build up innumerable tensions, hostilities and aggressions, with the net result that interaction is amplified and takes on orgiastic qualities. In the case of the soldier neat social directives exist for draining off these emotions in such things as killing and maiming the enemy, drinking, gambling and relative freedom to indulge in promiscuous sex relations. The problem is more difficult of solution in the case of the civilian population, particularly in democratic societies. In totalitarian societies there is little official hesitation in manipulating mass energies to the achievement of national goals. However, democratic misconceptions of the rational, polytechnically literate citizen have hampered efforts to deal logically with these psychological concomitants of frustration.

Attempts to generate and direct mass enthusiasms in the United States, particularly on the part of governmental leaders, at best have been awkward and fumbling. There has been an almost naive approach to these

huge irrational societal energies as if they could be turned on and off like water in a faucet, with a corresponding disregard for the repercussions these social movements have upon morale. Many of our early "drives" such as those to gather various scrap materials have achieved initial success only to bog down because of a failure to utilize the material in a sufficiently dramatic fashion. Piles of aluminum collected at no little individual time and cost scarcely stimulate further participation if no smelters want them, or if it turns out that they cannot be used for technical reasons. Scrap iron, steel or tin lying uncollected for long periods in public places is not conducive to attitudes of urgency on the part of the masses. In the final analysis mass movements based upon the deliberate amplification of irrational impulses may be a poor way of securing sustained action in certain directions. Thus huge bond sales at public rallies may be followed by an epidemic of bond cashing.

In conclusion it seems clear that totalitarian war calls for a careful re-examination and reevaluation of the role played by the individual in public policy-formation and its execution. It is probable that the war is accentuating extant trends rather than ushering in a categorically different social and economic system. If this is true then it is probable that the problem of postwar governmental planning will have to be faced, together with the necessity of redefining fundamentally rural notions among our political concepts. Such redefinition must take place at both the level of ideology and organization. Individuals must be politically developed to see the importance of organization and participation in terms of interest. Administrative hostility to voluntary organization must give way to an appreciation of its indispensability in a dynamically planned society. At the same time the basis selected for organizing individuals' interests must be sufficiently broad to prevent purely defensive and unstable alignments of associations.

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FREEDOM FROM WANT AND INTERNATIONAL POPULATION POLICY*

IMRE FERENCZI†
New York City

The major social problem is no longer that of labor as a class but of the welfare and security of whole populations. The present total war, mainly the consequence of the Western powers' neglect of the security factor in inter-population adjustments, brings the population problem to the forefront of national and international politics. Manpower is the basic condition of victory; yet freedom from want is the basic guarantee against a real war of populations. Democratic international organization will ease the approach to a world population optimum.

AMERICAN social security legislation is the co-ordination and evolution of the social policies forged in Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries. The labor policy developed throughout the world until this war, was, however, only a partial realization of the ideal of social justice. The majority of the world's population—primitive Indians in Latin America, the natives of Africa and Australia, the teeming millions in Asia—has never really known the blessings of a welfare policy. Even the most comprehensive labor plans were inadequate to prevent much permanent distress and substandard strata among populations. It is, therefore, not the labor question which is the chief philosophical and moral social problem of the

20th century. The great issue of this century is that of world population, a problem which requires solution if we are not to face a third or even a fourth world war. For one of the main causes of war is the increasing population pressure between over-populated and under-populated areas because of their absolute dependence on disproportionate natural resources.

After the present war, this problem will become an even greater factor in the instigation of wars, for two reasons. First, those vast regions where starvation is endemic, particularly in the Far East, harboring more than half of the world's population, will henceforth play a decisive rôle in world politics. Second, the colored peoples fighting in the present war will eventually become politically independent and literate. They will defend their interests with more energy since they will have less veneration for white superiority.

Moreover, since war today is a total war of populations, ultimate peace can never be achieved unless freedom from want and a minimum, satisfactory standard of living are assured to the entire world population. Far from Utopian, this goal represents a practical, if stern, realization of the fact that the peoples with a high standard of living are always exposed to the threat of war from those whose only alternatives are living on a starvation level or aggressively demanding a share of the prosperity of the countries which possess more.

*This paper is a revised text of a lecture on "Population and Peace Aims" presented at fifteen universities and other institutions in the United States during 1940-41 (see *News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education, October, 1940), and the Anniversary National Conference of the American Association for Social Security, March 11, 1942 (see *Social Security* 7: no. 5, p. 6).

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If permanent peace is to be attained, the post-war claims of such enormous populations as those of India, China and Japan cannot be ignored. Nor can they be met by a mere continuation of the pre-war policy of social legislation, with its emphasis on the improvement of labor conditions and of the relations between workers and employers. For such a policy fails to take into consideration the social consequences and the dangers of revolution, war or slavery which might arise in any and every part of the world.

World Justice Requires Wise Population Policy. The inter-war policy of international social legislation, initiated in 1919 and entrusted to the International Labor Organization, failed to develop an international population policy. The reasons for this failure are very important, especially because they affect the future policy of the United States. During the past decade, this country abandoned individualistic economic policy for internal social peace, and is now discarding its isolationist foreign policy to bring about international security. A planned national and international population policy promises fulfillment of this ideal.

In order to formulate a positive program, it is necessary to examine the course of population policy in the past.

At the international Zurich Conference of 1913, various international associations for labor legislation, social insurance and the study of unemployment met for the first time to unify their programs. At that conference my suggestions for international agreements and legislation on "Unemployment and International Migration of Workers"¹ met with considerable opposition as they had the year before.² The explanation for the opposition is simple. International migrants were not organized and therefore not represented at this or any other international conference. The delegates failed to see migration as a labor issue and as an immediate problem. Nevertheless, the Zurich Conference and

later international and national meetings finally recognized the need for international regulation of migration in order to avoid anarchy on the labor markets of emigration and immigration countries. At last, at the first conference of the I.L.O. in Washington in 1919, migration was included in the program.

League Failed to Solve Population Problems. Because migration touches sensitive political issues, such as the rights of sovereignty, which labor problems do not affect, the population question remained a stepchild of the League of Nations. It is true that laws, international migration and alien statistics were being compiled, co-ordinated and published for the first time, and that protective measures were being agreed on. But plans for international regulation of the labor market, international employment services, curbing of national sovereignty in matters concerning migration, and international financial aid to settle migrants overseas, especially in Latin America, were frustrated by the leading members of the League.

The main goal of the victorious powers was the rigid maintenance of the *status quo* of 1919. The realization of social justice as a basis for lasting peace was only heralded in the Introduction to the Constitution of the I.L.O. The League thus had no general program on the main issues of population, and the attempts to regulate population directly were almost always unsuccessful. These problems were regarded as economic difficulties which would disappear under free trade. While the I.L.O. obtained many important improvements in labor conditions, especially for skilled and organized workers, it could not basically raise general living conditions.

The entire international community has been affected by the indecision of national governments towards control of their populations and distribution of peoples according to economic opportunity and by their tariff, foreign loan and migration policies. The League's inertia amid the contradictory nationalistic population policies led to a failure to recognize up to the very end the interrelationship of world economy, social justice and international safety.

¹ *Le Chomage et les Migrations Internationales des Travailleurs*. Rapport présenté à l'Association Internationale pour la Lutte contre le Chomage, Paris 1912. (In German, Jena, 1913.)

² *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, September 10, 1912.

At a meeting of the Academy of Political Science in 1940, it was shown that the United States and Great Britain had never erected tariff walls as high as those set up during the period 1920-30. Their practice was followed by all other industrial nations. The same spirit of egotism influenced their policy toward migration and finance. The American immigration legislation after the World War suddenly closed the doors to about 20,000,000 between 1920 and 1942, thereby further aggravating the condition of impoverished Europe by millions of workless, would-be immigrants. The lowered purchasing power of Europeans was an important factor in the world crisis of 1929 and the grave problem of unemployment in the United States. Emigration from the Old World, the safety valve of the 19th century, turned into counter-migration, with fatal consequences.

Axis Used Population Issues to Attain Power. The Axis powers made effective use of the increasing social misery in Europe and of the differences between standards of living in so-called "have" and "have-not" nations. They first excited the imagination of their people by pseudo-demographic slogans representing their lands as most densely populated and therefore needing more territory and a "new order" to protect their people against unemployment and starvation. With greater justification than Germany, the Italian and Japanese governments laid much stress on the condition of their small farmers and the misery of their agricultural laborers. Finally, the Axis nations proclaimed that the number and quality (race) of their peoples sanctioned war in order to obtain by force those resources and territories which they claimed were needed for independence and economic autarchy, and race supremacy. Military mobilization was combined with an effort to increase the birth rate, thus expressing their confidence that space would be found for the future millions of their people. Their purpose was, as Mussolini said, "expansion or explosion."

Other Nations Ignore Population Questions. In contrast to these Axis efforts, the

defenders of the *status quo* showed complete inflexibility, blindness to the situation, and lack of statesmanship. They failed to appreciate the fact that a national population policy must be synthetic and flexible. For population is determined by a synthesis of many factors. Military, diplomatic, economic and demographic factors and qualitative considerations of a racial, eugenic, cultural and moral character influence the main objective, the social optimum, under normal peace conditions.³ Besides this automatic synthesis, governmental actions may alter the natural processes and thereby react on other countries. For example, if the United States sends 10,000,000 men to war, the Axis states may be forced to arm 15,000,000 men. The various aspects of the national optimum must therefore be considered in relation to complex and changing international situations. Thus, German re-armament after 1935 should have warned all European nations to change their population policy from the social to the defense aspect of their optimum. Failure to appreciate the importance of these problems is glaringly revealed by the policies of England, France, Russia and the United States before and during the present war.

Confident in its insular isolation and maritime supremacy, Great Britain has neglected its military preparedness since Cromwell. Fortunately, she has often been able to win last-minute victories. From 1933 until the present war, the conservative circles in England saw in German re-armament a cheap guarantee against the dangers of Communism, and looked to the eventual weakening of both Germany and Russia through war. British economic and financial supremacy

³Imre Ferenczi, *The Synthetic Optimum of Population: An Outline of International Policy*. General Report to the X International Studies Conference, International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, 1937. See for the definition of the "synthetic, or integral, or proportional" optimum, p. 112.

Concerning this theory R. Mukerjee said: "The notion of the integral optimum marks, however, a definite advance in the theory of population" ("Population Theory and Politics," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* 6: 786, Dec., 1941).

was to be maintained through this negative policy. On the other hand, the Labor Party, although devoted to the ideals of the social optimum and broad social advances, made the fatal mistake of voting against expenditures for defense. With both parties opposed to substantial armament, compulsory conscription was not adopted until 1939. The British thus entered their struggle for existence ill-trained, ill-armed and generally ill-prepared. In 1940 they told the Americans, "Give us the tools and we will do the job!" But later they needed American seamen to convoy lend-lease weapons. Every day's events reveal that, despite the emphasis on mechanization, manpower is still the basic weapon and the moral force for victory.

France's unhappy situation is even more instructive. Faced with a declining population for decades, France made belated and inadequate attempts to raise the birth rate by state subsidies for large families. But the *Code de la Famille* was not established until June 1939! For the most part, France hoped to counterbalance her demographic inferiority first by the traditional alliance with Russia, then by military agreements with weak satellite states, and finally, by antiquated tactics of defensive warfare as represented by the Maginot Line. The French people, remembering the 2,000,000 human beings they lost in World War I, feared new agonies. But mechanized warfare requires a fighting spirit and blitzkrieg strategy. Moreover, the French army was not prepared even for the rôle of defense. In addition to being numerically superior, the German army had in the final "Battle of France" a quantitative and qualitative superiority of two, possibly five, to one, in the principal weapons of war.

As far as Russia is concerned, for twenty years she sacrificed the welfare and happiness of the present generation to defend her independence by increasing the production of armaments and training her people to the utmost.

America's Need for Manpower Acute. In the United States the demographic problem has been considered chiefly from the point of view of individual happiness, family interests, eugenics, and economic and social

policy. The official report of the National Resources Committee in 1938, entitled "Problems of a Changing Population," concluded that no legislation affecting population problems is necessary. One of the reasons given was that the size of the population is not of great importance in modern warfare. Only when total armament became the national objective did the United States recognize the importance of population from the point of view of national defense and prestige.

The problem of military priorities, i.e., which men should be soldiers, which war production workers, and which producers for civilian needs, is a complicated one. Mobilization of the total population demands new sacrifices by all social strata; even the maintenance of labor standards and rights must be subordinated to victory. In World War I, two German workers toiled behind each soldier while America needed 17 workers for one soldier.⁴ Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey stated in 1941 that about the same proportions prevailed then. Thus approximately 62,000,000 American workers would be needed to support an army of 5,000,000 men. Later he reduced this proportion to 1:10; it is now about 1:5. In addition, the United States has pledged assistance to the Allies and needs more men and women in her own civilian defense and welfare and police activities. Industrial accidents and illnesses will also take their increased toll, and replacements must be provided for losses in the armed forces through death, injury and capture. The yearly natural increase of manpower may possibly be insufficient to replace the losses.

Although victory depends on the final proportions and morale of the armed forces and trained war-workers of the two opposing forces, the United States has not yet taken the necessary steps to assure the maximum reserve of manpower. This may be accomplished by the following measures, which can be discussed only briefly here:

⁴Imre Ferenczi, "Armements et Potentiel Humain," *Revue Economique Internationale*, Brussels (Octobre-Novembre, 1939).

1. Compulsory allocation, transfer and training of men and women in the age group 18-64 not already enrolled for military purposes.

2. Recruitment of alien laborers, especially unskilled workers of friendly countries, in order to fill in shortages and permit the transfer of more of our men to military service and war industries. Latin America, according to my study, could supply 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 eventually direly-needed workers, mostly for agriculture. While this recruitment would be voluntary,⁵ Greater Germany, having exhausted its own manpower, is using within its borders 11,000,000 to 13,000,000 alien laborers including an undisclosed number of war prisoners. Moreover, European countries, with about 450,000,000 inhabitants are producing a huge amount of war material and food for Germany. Asiatic territories with about 300,000,000 people are under the Japanese flag.

3. Decrease in the number of workers required to maintain an American soldier or sailor at the front.

4. Labor legislation must be gradually adapted to the exigencies of victory.

Modern War Emphasizes Population Policy. From the above it is evident that modern warfare has placed the population problem in the forefront of international and national policy. But even at this late date the importance of this issue is not fully appreciated as the Atlantic Charter, for example, illustrates. At the I.L.O. Conference in October, 1941, in New York, resolutions were presented calling for (a) international collaboration against post-war unemployment, a policy which calls for many important demographic decisions; (b) international action against the deepest cause of permanent unemployment and sub-standard conditions,

over- and under-population, by transfer of capital or human power or both for colonization and industrialization; (c) hemispheric collaboration in the economic field with Latin America, and (d) recognition of labor rights, including the right to join international organizations. Characteristically, these draft resolutions were again referred to the governing body for further study.

In his final speech to this Conference on November 6, President Roosevelt, speaking of the principle of "freedom from want," proclaimed the welfare of the "common man" in every country as the objective of the present struggle and stated that, without such a policy, individual freedom cannot survive. Courageous as this proclamation of the very aim of international population policy was, its effect was minimized by reference to the Atlantic Charter, which is based on the discredited principle of the nation-state system and on free trade. In fact, even the principle of free trade, itself, was tempered in the Atlantic Charter by references to limiting previous agreements, such as that of Ottawa, etc.

In war-time victory is the primary aim. Beyond that, the goal of the new international order must be freedom from want first and then "the raising of standards of living throughout the world." Otherwise, the latter gain may be at the expense of the substandard groups and populations. A minimum standard of living must be statistically fixed for the various large regions of the world, based on varying climate, history, civilization, national food, housing, health, education, costs of living, etc. This standard must be continuously adjusted according to family budget statistics of typical population strata, and not only by long range economic measures but also by direct population policies (migration, etc.). If whole populations are to be fed on the basis of the Atlantic Charter, they will again be exposed to crises of unemployment and starvation, and may be forced to sell their liberty, as the freedom-loving French have had to do in the present crisis.

A Realistic Program for the Future. Rather than free competition of nations, the follow-

⁵ This suggestion was made in a "Memorandum on the Introduction of Temporary War Workers," submitted by the author on Oct. 3, 1942, to the Board of Economic Warfare at its request, and circulated among various government agencies. As conditions became acute, Public Law No. 45 (H. J. Res. 96 Cannon, Mo.) was passed by Congress April 29, 1943, permitting the entrance of native-born agricultural workers from the Western Hemisphere. The number of farm workers admitted under this law prior to July 25, 1943, was only 19,959 (*Monthly Review*, U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, July, 1943, p. 7).

ing realistic program is suggested, keeping in mind the criticisms of the Atlantic Charter in Britain and America:

1. The nation-state system must disappear through economic and political necessity. The history of the United States shows that only large, nearly self-contained territories can achieve relatively high standards of economic and social welfare and understanding among social classes and groups of various ethnic and racial origins. The future world, therefore, must be built on practically self-contained old empires or rationally-organized large population units, in which the formerly independent nations will be of only administrative or cultural importance.

2. The planning of this new world may demand temporary sacrifices of all wealthier states. The most effective fight against unemployment and the return of national rivalries is provided by raising the living conditions of the needy millions above the starvation level. Only such a program can prevent the complete destruction of advanced nations by new aggressions of these dissatisfied millions. The Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America, one aim of which is to improve the population optimum of those underdeveloped countries, seems a more realistic and constructive approach than the many legal formulae for eternal peace, past and present.

3. General tentative planning must be fostered along economic, demographic and migratory levels, different politico-regional bases, and varied social systems.

4. A flexible policy, implementing also free enterprise, must continuously aim at improving the plans according to the accepted minimum standards of living and individual liberty.

5. The world's future organization will thus center around a better distribution of welfare, leading to more durable cooperation among the peoples of the world. It will be only by practical experiences that a world organization of populations will develop, adjusting realistically the difficult social and political issues involved.

Permanent Peace Involves American Sacrifices. The leadership of the United

States in world population planning is as natural as it is unavoidable for the protection of its own interests. We must recognize, however, that a fundamental peace policy cannot be achieved without sacrifices, including perhaps some of labor's gains, even when victory is ours. For Americans must pay the costs of the present war and of some of its consequences. They must maintain a large military force for a long time and make great financial investments in order to prevent even greater and more expensive wars. The sacrifices of labor will also be the best guarantee for reconstruction of its standards. The traditional economic and social peace policies will be found insufficient to protect American labor standards after the war. Something more is needed than wishful thinking, 19th century Utopias and 1919 organizations.

The unorganized and substandard millions, characterized by President Roosevelt even in the United States as "the forgotten men and women of our war economy," will need in the post-war period an all-out democratic organization of the world's populations. Only such machinery can guarantee protection against tyranny and against the special privileges of particular nations and pressure groups.

Democracy has so far proved slow and complacent in preparing for and prosecuting an unavoidable war. It must now use certain of the methods of the totalitarians to obtain victory. The American people can find a realistic outlet for their idealism and an opportunity to prove their leadership in the new field of international relations. It will be the free nations who must prepare—in contrast to Versailles—a real, generous and durable peace through a world population organization enlisting the loyalties of free men and encouraging the adherence of subjugated nations.

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EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

FELIKS GROSS*

Central and Eastern European Planning Board

THE WAR and Nazi occupation have caused, in occupied countries, the physical destruction of culture and education. Schools were destroyed, libraries looted, books burnt, textbooks confiscated, and teachers put into concentration camps or executed. This is a physical destruction of education and culture and it requires a physical or material reconstruction.

In Germany, Italy, and satellite countries, the schools as such were not destroyed. The universities and elementary schools are functioning. But what is even more important, the spiritual elements of culture were destroyed. The burning of the books of the great humanistic and democratic thinkers was a symbol of this spiritual destruction. All the basic moral concepts of humanity were rejected. Said Adolph Hitler: "Conscience is a Jewish invention like circumcision, a mutilation of man."

The two problems cover two different areas. The material reconstruction concerns the Axis-invaded countries; the spiritual, above all, the Axis countries.

Further, it must be recognized that educational reconstruction cannot be limited to schools, textbooks, teachers, and the like. It is not an isolated problem. We cannot dissociate reconstruction of education from the whole process of rehabilitation. For example, the family forms an essential environment for education. Through shifting of population, thousands of families have been dispersed. To bring father, mother, and children together once more is basic for educational reconstruction. This requires re-shifting of population.

Spiritual reconstruction must re-establish

the basic moral and cultural system in the Axis countries. It is, broadly, the problem of the establishment of a democratic way of life and democratic institutions. A democratic school in a fascist society is impossible. The school does not work in a vacuum. A democratic system in Europe is a prerequisite or co-requisite of democratic education, just as the Nazi system was a prerequisite of the type of education which was called by Ziemer "Education for Death."¹ Again we note that the problem of educational reconstruction lies far beyond the possibilities of educators alone.

In somewhat greater detail we may visualize the problems as follows:

A. *Axis countries*

1. Germany (spiritual reconstruction and re-education needed)
2. Italy (spiritual reconstruction needed to a smaller extent than in Germany)
3. Other satellite countries (different grades of spiritual reconstruction needed)

B. *Invaded countries* (Material reconstruction needed. Some countries need different methods for democratization of society and education)

1. Central and Eastern Europe
2. Western Europe

C. *Neutral countries*

1. Countries with a Fascist system (Spain, Portugal) (spiritual reconstruction)
2. Countries with a Democratic system (Sweden, Switzerland) (no reconstruction needed)

D. *Fighting countries of Europe* (Problems of educational adjustments in connection with the effects and damages of the war)

1. Great Britain
2. Russia

Educational reconstruction will need different means and assume different patterns

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¹ Gregor Ziemer, *Education for Death*, Oxford University Press, 1941.

in these four groups. The Nazification of Germany has much deeper roots and embraces larger masses than the Fascist system in Italy. The problem of the re-education of Germany is much more difficult than that of Italy and it requires different methods. The occupied countries had their educational institutions destroyed but the efforts to implant Nazi ideas in them were fruitless. They need, above all, a material reconstruction, and in general the problem of so-called re-education does not concern these countries. Here and there certain re-educational measures will be needed, especially where children were forced in greater extent to Nazi or Fascist ideology. Liberated Norway or Belgium will not need any re-education, but the problem of re-education is essential for Germany even after the fall of the Nazi regime. Russia and Great Britain were lucky enough to have their systems of education left intact and had only to adjust to the wartime necessities. In the neutral countries, Switzerland and Sweden, there is no problem from the point of view of educational reconstruction. Spain needs special changes. The Spanish people are hostile to Fascism. Spiritual reconstruction might there be accomplished largely by changes in teaching staffs and textbooks. The proper approach can be learned only through a careful sociological analysis of conditions in each country.

OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

Concerning the occupied countries, the first thing is to ascertain to what degree the Nazi invasion has influenced the social environment in which a child is to be educated, and especially, the two most important groups: the family and the school.

In Europe, particularly in the southeast, great shiftings of population were brought about by the Nazi policy. First the masses of war prisoners, and second, the slave workers recruited from all over Europe, were brought to Germany. According to the available figures, the number varies from 6,000,000 in the latter half of 1942 to 12,000,000 in 1943.² In addition, the Ger-

mans have expanded their policy of forced shifting of population in order to make room for German colonization. So, for example, Polish peasants and townsmen were ruthlessly expelled from the western provinces to the east.³ The same treatment was applied to the Slovenes in Yugoslavia.⁴ The tragic fate of the Jews who were expelled in millions is commonly known.⁵ Many people fled to the mountains because of the dangers, or simply to join the guerrillas and fight the invaders.⁶ According to the figures of the Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, about 20,000,000 people were replaced in Europe and from this number, about 10,000,000 pertains to Poland. What is the influence of these shiftings on the family? Forced labor in Germany and prisoners of war mean fathers away from their families, mean physical disintegration of family life—a situation which has already lasted for four years. Forced migration means families uprooted from their social environment. Joining the guerrillas is equal in effect to volunteering for the army, except that the family of the guerrilla remains at home in a dangerous and unusual situation, with no support or help from the state. In all cases where the head or chief supporter is gone, a deep influence is left on the family. It makes employment of mothers and children necessary to a larger degree than is required even by the deteriorating economic situation. The children are widely employed, and they earn money through different means. For instance,

² *Polish Black Book*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1942, p. 145 following, *German Occupation of Poland (White Book)* Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland, New York, 1942.

Documents Relating to the Administration of Occupied Countries in Eastern Europe, Polish Information Center, New York, 1941, No. 8-9.

⁴ Boris Furlan, *Fighting Yugoslavia: The Struggle of the Slovenes*, Yugoslav Information Center, New York, p. 16.

⁵ Eugene Kulischer, *Jewish Migration*, The American Jewish Committee, 1943, p. 26 f.

"Jewish Affairs," Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, Vol. 1, No. 15.

⁶ Nicholas Mirkovich, "Wartime Population Shifts," *Yugoslav Reconstruction Papers*, Yugoslav Office of Reconstruction and Economic Affairs, New York, 1943.

² *International Labour Review*, Vol. XLVI, December, 1942, p. 733; *New York Times*, July 1, 1943.

in Poland, they make their living by working at small trades, bringing food from villages to the black market, operating push-carts, selling cigarettes, operating rickshaws which have replaced the taxi. In some respects, the family will be physically disintegrated. In other respects, it will be even more integrated and strengthened in its defense against foreign pressure and in its common struggle for survival.

The schools are also affected by the Nazi invasion. Perhaps the country most harmed in this respect is Poland. The universities and higher education have been hit more than the public schools. All universities are closed. All secondary schools are closed. Only some professional education institutions are left. The public schools are reduced in number and enrollment.⁷ The same, more or less, is true of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece. In Czechoslovakia, universities are closed, secondary schools limited.⁸ In Yugoslavia, universities practically do not work and in Greece, the two universities are closed.⁹ The closing of universities means that no new educators are being trained and no development of new methods in education is possible, not to speak about the cultural disaster.

On the other hand, the Nazis are trying unsuccessfully to impose their ideas in the schools. The former textbooks are controlled and most of them have been discarded. Other books are also under a ban. For instance, in Poland, a booklet of 50 pages was issued containing a list of 1,500 authors whose books are prohibited by the administration of the so-called General Government—among

them, Joseph Conrad.¹⁰ The same is to be said about Czechoslovakia, and other countries which had libraries of classics. Even "Alice in Wonderland" is prohibited because it is the product "of the perverse mind of an Englishman unacquainted with the elementary principles of 'child psychology.'" ¹¹ Even the music of some composers, as Chopin in Poland, and some of the work of Smetana in Czechoslovakia, is prohibited in public places.

The ideological influence of the Nazis in all these countries will be of secondary importance because the Nazis are resented and hated and their preachings do not find a receptive audience. Nevertheless, the continuous activity of Nazi propaganda can leave some traces which must be eradicated by proper teaching. The question of spiritual reconstruction in education in these areas will be limited to proper programs and textbooks and to good examples which must come from the democratic states. The preparation of textbooks, the publishing of them, and the filling of libraries will be a major task. The hunger for books is tremendous. Up to now, the whole of Europe was under Nazi censorship and no freedom of thought and research has existed. This problem was widely discussed by the U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction and the Central and Eastern European Planning Board.¹² There were proposals that textbooks be prepared now. Another proposal was raised by the Yugoslav Minister of Education, Boris Furlan, that textbooks be prepared in the countries themselves, and that the occupied countries be supplied now, with what, in his opinion, they need—namely, paper and machines. Another proposition was that American universities "adopt" destroyed European universities and establish in this way a basis for future collaboration and interchange of

⁷ Central and Eastern European Planning Board, *Documents and Reports* No. 4, 1942, pp. 3-5.

Documents Relating to the Administration of Occupied Countries in Eastern Europe, Polish Information Center, New York, 1941, No. 2.

⁸ Central and Eastern European Planning Board, *Documents and Reports* No. 4, 1942, pp. 6-12.

Eugene V. Erdely, *Germany's First European Protectorate*, Robert Hale Limited, London, 1942, p. 201 f.

Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Two Years of German Oppression in Czechoslovakia*, Unwin Bros. Limited, England, 1941, p. 102.

⁹ Central and Eastern European Planning Board, *Documents and Reports*, No. 4, 1942, p. 2.

¹⁰ "Conrad versus Hitler," *Poland Fights*, No. 5, August 15, 1941.

¹¹ Eugene V. Erdely, *Germany's First European Protectorate*, Robert Hale Limited, 1942, p. 208.

¹² Minutes of the Meeting of the Joint committees of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board and the U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction, held at New York University, June 14, 1943.

thought.¹³ Student and teacher exchanges, according to the plans which were proposed at the Institute on Educational Reconstruction in April 1943 (organized by the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, the U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction and New York University), should have a wide application.¹⁴ This last method was widely applied with great success by Professor Stephen Duggan's Institute of International Education, whose experience may be of great use.

For the past years, educators and scientists have been isolated from the western world. They have not had the opportunity to exchange experiences and improve their methods by studying abroad. Moreover, such isolation in no way helps to develop international friendship and mutual understanding. The exchanges would help in this respect.

Adult education is certainly undervalued in all plans for educational reconstruction. Until now, the adult education in all of Europe played a significant role, but it was never recognized as equally important, for example, to the secondary schools. However, for the workers its importance was equally as great. Adult education should come into its rightful place after the war with adequate financial support. Until now, it has been supported chiefly by membership contributions and small grants, unlike the schools which were financed by the state or municipalities. The role of adult education will be much more important after this war, for three reasons.

In the first place, the closing of universities and secondary schools caused a large number of young people to interrupt their studies. Also other consequences of the war such as shifting of population and service in the army have had a similar result. Many of these people will have to earn their living and will be unable to continue their studies normally. Adequate systems of adult education must help them. In this respect, systems

such as that at Antioch College in the United States, where students earn their living for part of the term and study for part of the term will be of great use, particularly if the work is connected with the studies.

Second, establishment of a democratic system will need adequately educated people. Democracy in administration means the common people, workers and peasants, acting as self-governing representatives in parliaments, in social security self-government, as lay judges in labor courts, and as trade union leaders. All this requires training. Without this training, a good working democracy is not possible. In pre-war Europe, many prominent labor leaders active in the above mentioned fields were students in adult education programs.

Third, we are approaching a period of a shorter working day. Technical development allows more and more for this. It seems fantastic that at the beginning of the 19th century the English economist, Senior, predicted the collapse of British industry if the day were shortened to eleven hours for children. Yet just before the war, the forty-hour week had become the generally accepted norm of the labor movement. Perhaps we shall have a thirty-hour week if the mechanical development continues. Then adult education will play a most important role in the utilization of leisure time.

GERMANY

A very different problem in educational reconstruction is presented by Germany. It has its qualitative and quantitative aspect. The problem of the re-education of Germany is, above all, a spiritual one. German Nazism and imperialism did not spring full-grown as Minerva from the brow of Jove. The seeds of totalitarian nationalism in Germany were sown by Frederick the Great and the ideology was developed as early as the beginning of the 19th century. Fichte and Hegel were the forerunners and Heine, in his "Letters on Germany" has written: "... Do not fear, however, you German radicals, the German revolution will not be any the milder and gentler because it was preceded by Kant's 'Critique,' the transcendentalism of Fichte, or even by natural philosophy.

¹³ *New Europe* (Journal); Reinhold Schairer, "Toward a New Europe," May 1943; William Seabury, "University Adoption," June 1943.

¹⁴ Report on the Institute on Educational Reconstruction held at New York University, April 7-8, 1943, U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction.

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Through these doctrines revolutionary forces have been developed which only await the day when they can break forth and fill the world with horror and admiration. Armed disciples of Fichte will appear on the scene whose fanaticism of will can be tamed neither by self-interest nor fear. Kantians will come to light who will reject any reverence whatsoever, even in the material world, and who will pitilessly plow up the soil of our European life with sword and axe in order to grub out even the last roots of the past." And further, "... Christianity has to a certain extent moderated the brutal German delight in war. But it could not eradicate it and when once the magic power that tames it, the Cross, is broken, the savagery of those old warriors will burst forth anew. Then Thor will spring up with his gigantic hammer and smash the Gothic cathedrals. . . ."

Generations ago, Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) wrote in his book, *Europe and Germanism*: "Germany needs a great military tyrant capable to exterminate entire nations." Carlton G. H. Hayes in his *Generation of Materialism*¹⁵ has shown the long development of German nationalism which finally burst forth in Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. The ideas of education were developed by such theorists as Ernst Kriek¹⁶ and they were the basis, together with the whole Nazi theory for educating German youth to cruelty. The Nazi theory brought its influence even into painting and music. "We repudiate Rembrandt, the painter of the ghetto," said Professor Hansen,¹⁷ and two Germans were appointed to produce new music for Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* in order to replace Mendelssohn's music.¹⁸

The problem of German re-education embraces, then, very large masses of population

infested by Nazi theory. The Nazi ideology is not limited to a few people. It embraces millions. Let us enumerate only the organized Nazi groups. Each of them embraces those people who are involved in the whole system of governing and ruling the occupied countries.

1. The National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (The Nazi Party), 4,000,000.
2. The Sturm Abteilungen (Nazi Storm Troopers), 3,000,000.
3. The Gestapo; the Waffen Schutz Staffeln (Elite Storm Troopers), 700,000-1,000,000.
4. Kraft Durch Freude (the Nazi cultural organization) and
5. The Hitler Jugend (the Nazi youth organization), jointly 8,000,000.
6. The Army and Navy—6,000,000-8,000,000.
7. The State Administration—1,500,000, possibly more.

The figures are obviously approximate. They were collected from German anti-Nazi sources. The German army as well as the Hitler Jugend and the K.D.F. are compulsory organizations. Many figures are overlapping. But even if we limit the figure of highly indoctrinated people only to the Nazi Party, we will get 4,000,000. At least 4,000,000 people need a total re-education. Four million adults and their families are much more than the whole population of such countries as Norway, Finland, even Sweden or Switzerland, and four million is only a limited sample of the whole Nazi organization.

In Germany, National Socialism was not a movement of the elite; on the contrary, it was a "Volksbewegung" of very dynamic character. The figures below show that in 1933, the pro-Nazi elements in Germany won more than half the voters:

	Pro-Nazi	Anti-Nazi
September, 1930 . . .	10,429,309	23,925,662
July, 1932	15,926,429	20,470,315
November, 1932 . . .	14,973,081	20,293,244
March, 1933	20,871,123	18,855,869 ¹⁹

¹⁹ Kurt R. Grossman, "Peace and the German Problem," *New Europe*, February 1943, p. 10.

¹⁵ Carlton G. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism*, Harper, New York 1941, p. 242 f.

¹⁶ George Frederick Kneller, *The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism*, Yale Univ. Press, 1941, presents Nazi theory of education.

¹⁷ Lecture to Museum Directors, in *Nazi Guide to Nazism*, edited by Rolf Tell, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. 1942, p. 50.

¹⁸ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, March 6, 1938 in *Nazi Guide*.

The Storm troopers themselves, the vanguard of the movement, controlled in 1933, 2,500,000 members²⁰ who enlisted voluntarily, ready to fight or die for Nazism.

How to re-educate them? Everyone who has had some experience in juvenile delinquency knows how difficult it is to re-educate one twelve-year-old delinquent. A delinquent must often be removed from his old environment, even from his family, often composed of delinquent elements, and must be put under new social conditions. The whole work is useless if he returns to his old criminal gang and eventually to his family.

According to the Inter-Allied Information Committee of the United Nations, the Nazis have slain 3,400,000 people in 9 countries.²¹ It is possible that the total is much higher since Nazi executions are often not revealed. How many millions of people were involved as executioners? How to re-educate adults who committed such crimes? How to re-educate hundreds of thousands of adults of this kind when re-education of an individual is so difficult? Walter M. Kotschnig proposes, *inter alia*, to send 10,000 German teachers to the United States for training, not so much in pedagogy, but in living once more in a free world.²² This part of his program would not directly reach the large masses of Germans. Yet our people would fear that 10,000 German teachers who had absorbed greater or less degrees of Nazism, would be dangerous to the United States.

According to the Norwegian Information Services, in 1917 the Norwegians invited the starving children of Germany and Austria to Norway. Many of these later maintained the ties with their Norwegian hosts, and many of the selfsame Germans came back to Norway in 1940 as conquerors.

Is then, the re-education of Germany hope-

²⁰ Haines and Hoffman, *Origins of the Second World War*, Oxford University Press, 1943, p. 33.

²¹ *Herald Tribune*, New York, February 28, 1943.

Also *The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland*. Note addressed to the Governments of the United Nations on December 10, 1942 and other documents. Republic of Poland, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Published by Roy Publishers, New York.

²² Walter M. Kotschnig, *Slaves Need No Leaders*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1943, p. 207.

less? Not at all. But we must approach the problem realistically. Peoples have changed their patterns of behavior throughout history. They have changed them basically. In the 18th century, Voltaire in his *Letters from England* presented the French as utmost conservatives—the same French who a few years later, through the great Revolution, became radicals and republicans. France, in the time of Napoleon and also later, became a warlike nation. The French soldier has always been excellent, but France is no longer aggressive as she was in the period of Napoleon. Sweden was a nation of warriors under Gustav Adolph, who was a true imperialist, and Sweden was imperialistic until Charles XII was killed at the fortress of Fredriksten. After Charles XII, Sweden lost its aggressive and imperialistic temper.

We cannot deal here with the very complicated sociological question: Under what conditions do the character and ideals of a nation change? Germany has not yet become democratic through internal changes, and she has not become democratic (except temporarily and superficially) as a result of the changes imposed upon her in 1919. The greatest promise now, in the opinion of realistic democrats, lies in the thoroughgoing defeat of Germany on her own soil, followed by a period of strict political-military control coupled with economic and social justice and opportunity.

Education, on the other hand, cannot be imposed, as Joseph Butterweck rightly points out.²³ New forces must come out from the society itself and full encouragement must be given. Then, when the great change comes, the problem of proper textbooks, proper teaching, and so on, will be of essential importance for a people's re-education.

Nevertheless, the quantity of people infected with the brutal Nazi spirit compels us to be overcautious. A thorough control must exist in order to safeguard the education which is so important for the maintenance of a democratic way of living. The German university professors are responsible for Nazism, said Thomas Mann. For a time,

²³ Joseph S. Butterweck, "Observations of an American Educator," *New Europe*, June 1943, p. 3.

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United Nations control of German education is not only essential for Germany's re-education but also for world security.

PLANS AND PROPOSALS

Educational reconstruction after this war, equally with other problems, needs a grand strategy, large plans, if culture in Europe is to rise again. It is not an accident that projects for an International Office of Education are being discussed in this country and in England, and that even the Polish underground papers discussing the problems of rebirth of European civilization quote the International Labor Office as an example. In the United States, there are several groups discussing these projects. At the conference on Educational Reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe, mentioned earlier, Alonzo Myers, advocating the establishment of an International Education Office as a basis of grand strategy in education, submitted the following statement of purpose for such an office:

"1. To lay the basis for a just and lasting peace following the present war by promoting and implementing the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity through education.

"2. To provide international machinery for co-operation among the nations that desire to promote and extend the democratic ideal of equal opportunity through education for all, regardless of race, color, creed, sex, or economic status. To provide the means for extending this co-operation to other nations that may later wish to subscribe to this basic idea.

"3. To provide facilities for the exchange of ideas and information among the nations of the world as to educational methods and procedures, and as to means of realizing the ideal of equality of educational opportunity.

"4. To provide means for making the services of technical experts available to nations desiring to improve their educational offerings and programs.

"5. To make available to all peoples of the world instructional materials having international validity and free from narrowly nationalistic prejudices.

"6. To provide facilities and machinery for assisting in the tasks of educational reconstruction throughout the world.

"7. To provide means for facilitating ex-

change of teachers and scholars.

"8. To safeguard education against being used as an instrumentality for poisoning the minds of a country's people by fostering hatred, theories of race superiority, and the support of war-like aggressiveness.

"9. To encourage adequate financing of education in all countries, and the provision of decent salaries for qualified teachers.

"10. To work for the elevation of the status of the teacher in all countries, through such means as the elevation of licensing standards to a professional level, safeguarding the intellectual freedom of teachers, and the establishment of tenure and retirement provisions."²⁴

This idea found support among leading statesmen of Eastern Europe. We can mention here the late Prime Minister Sikorski and President Edward Benes of Czechoslovakia. President Benes, at a meeting held with the members of the U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction and the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, declared that he regards the formation of an International Office of Education necessary immediately before the war is over in order to plan in a large way the reconstruction in education. Besides this group, of which Dean E. George Payne is Chairman, another group headed by Grayson N. Kefauver of Stanford University, is also proposing an International Education Organization which should start with a temporary international commission on education, to deal without delay, with five important tasks:

"1. It should develop recommendations for the handling of education in the peace treaty.

"2. It should develop plans and assist the new governments of the Axis countries in the reconstruction of their programs of education in harmony with internationally accepted social goals and social values.

"3. It should likewise co-operate with the governments of the occupied countries in the reconstruction of their programs of education at the close of the war.

"4. It should study and propose means by which programs of education can contribute to public understanding of the interdependence among nations today, the nature of the

²⁴ Report on Institute on Educational Reconstruction, U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction, New York, 1943.

peace aims of the United Nations, and the problems that will be faced by the countries of the world at the close of the war.

"5. It should prepare a plan for a permanent International Education Organization and recommend to the over-all federation of nations, if such be formed, or to several governments participating in the Commission that they join in extending invitations to all the United Nations, and in time to all nations of the world, to join the International Education Organization."²⁵ (Liaison Committee for International Education.)

In connection with the discussion of Kefauver's proposal Stefan Ropp presented his project, which protects especially the interest of the small nations.²⁶ Also the Educational Policies Commission proposed in its publication "Education and the People's Peace," the setting up of a United Nations Council on Educational Policy and the later establishment of a permanent education organization. They suggest, "that the international agency for education include representatives of government, education, and other interest groups, that its membership include only those nations which agree to participate in whatever over-all international agency may be created after the war, and that each nation be equally represented." In Great Britain, also, some groups are active in discussing plans for an International Education Organization. The Joint Commission for the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly in their first report, "Education and the United Nations," recommended the establishment, without delay, of a temporary organization carrying the title United Nations' Bureau of Educational Reconstruction, especially to aid the reconstruction of education in the occupied countries. They recommend, further, "that for the advancement of education generally and for the promotion of education in world citizen-

ship it is urgently necessary that the United Nations should agree to establish as soon as may be practicable an International Organization for Education and should forthwith undertake the necessary preparations for that act . . . that such an organization should be one of the principal parts of any new international authority that may be created after the war on a world scale or for any group of States. . . ."²⁷

Julian Huxley, writing about "German Education and Re-Education" in the *New Statesman and Nation*, points out rightly that German re-education cannot be considered in isolation on its own merits, that it can only be approached as a part of the problem of European education and to a certain degree of world education. He regards as a first step to consider the setting up of some international organization to deal with educational problems. "There appears to be a general agreement," he writes, "that what is needed is a body on the line of the International Labor Office. Let us call it the I.E.O."²⁸

The importance of developing entirely new machinery in the planning of education, which would meet the changed demands of our times, is being realized more and more. As the International Labor Office emerged from the last World War, perhaps an International Education Office will be born at the Peace Table after this war. The International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations and also the International Bureau of Education in Geneva were certainly in some way forerunners of such an International Office of Education. The International Labor Office had an excellent influence on the labor legislation in Europe. An International Office of Education as a part of larger international machinery could play the same role in the field of education. While obviously not a solution in itself, it is an instrument which can be most important in making education fit the needs of the coming times.

²⁵ Grayson N. Kefauver, "Peace Aims Call for International Action in Education," *New Europe*, May 1943, p. 17. In the June issue of *New Europe*, the proposed I.E.O. has been discussed by Professor Stephen Duggan, Arnold Wolfers, Professor Stefan Ropp, Professor Joseph Butterweck, and others.

²⁶ Stefan Ropp, "United Nations Educational Board," *New Europe*, June 1943.

²⁷ Gilbert Murray, *Education and the United Nations*, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1943.

²⁸ Julian Huxley, "German Education and Re-Education," *New Statesman and Nation*, London, February 13, 1943, reprinted in *Britain*, No. 2, 1943.

FAMILIAL ADJUSTMENTS OF JAPANESE-AMERICANS TO RELOCATION: FIRST PHASE

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The removal of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast and their establishment in relocation centers came at a crucial time in the history of this minority because the *nisei* were just gaining status and the inter-generational conflict was sharply defined. The stresses fell most heavily on the family which is the predominant Japanese institutional form. The chief adaptive adjustments were made within the family as an organization and by persons as family members.

THERE may never have been a problem which captured the attention of American sociologists more promptly, more completely, and more appropriately than the evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast. In matters of topical interest there is always a danger that the necessities of empirical immediacy will blur equally pressing theoretical considerations, and this paper tries to steer between the Scylla of crass empiricism and the Charybdis of scholasticism.

The study is predicated on the assumption that methodologically the most suitable framework for the examination of Japanese adjustment is that of the family. Surely the family is the salient Japanese institutional form and the most pervasive system within the socio-cultural complex. Furthermore it is a crucial area of acculturation, inter-generational adjustment, and group solidarity.

Pragmatic considerations always condition the kind of research which is practicable (more so in sociology than in other sciences), and for that as well as for the reasons noted above the delimitation of the investigation to the field of the family was thought appropriate. This paper is to be regarded as the foundation and ground plan of a continuous study which will attempt to follow the Japanese-American familial adjustment through and beyond the war.¹ Thus the

series of dramatic crises to which the people are being subjected will eventually appear in some perspective. Anything less than a thorough-going effort at describing the sequence patterns is inadmissible.

First there is presented a brief description of the background to the problem: the main features of the native Japanese family, an indication of the character of the acculturation which took place in Hawaii and on the West Coast, and a summary of the factors conditioning familial adjustment prior to the war. Secondly, there is a partial report of a comparative analysis of all Japanese marriages, 1081 in number, occurring in Los Angeles County between May 1937 and December 1938, and between January 1941 and April 1942. Thirdly, there is offered a descriptive account of the adjustment to the evacuation of a sample of more than 100 Japanese-American families. The methods employed in gathering the last data are questionnaire, interview, and participant observation. The assistance of students of Japanese ancestry from this department was enlisted.

The hypothesis is offered for future rather than current testing that in terms of familial integration the adjustment will be found to be bi-polar in nature rather than modal.

The native Japanese family² of the latter

¹ A brief preliminary statement "Familial Problems and the Japanese Removal" appears in *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society 1942, Research Studies*, State College of Washington, vol. XI, 1943, pp. 21-26.

² Generalizations on the native Japanese family are from various sources. Especially useful were: John F. Embree, *Suye Mura* (University of Chicago, 1939), *The Japanese* (Washington, Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies, 1943); Shidzue Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways* (New York, Farrar

part of the last century, which is taken as our point of departure, was characterized by a strong solidarity expressed in "mutual helpfulness." It was patriarchal in form and colored throughout by the notion of male superiority and the correlative desirability of male children. In discussing creation folklore Embree gives the following mythological support for masculine supremacy. "Performing a special marriage ceremony Izanagi and Izanami followed each other around a heavenly august pillar, and she greeted him, 'Ah, what a fair and lovely youth.' He greeted her in return and they were married. But their first children were 'not good' and by divination it was found that there had been an error in the wedding ceremony. The man, not the woman, should have spoken first. So the whole ceremony was repeated with Izanagi opening the conversation. Thus male superiority was assured for all time."³ The father symbol (*koshu*) was an object of respect, even awe; the mother symbol was one to elicit warmth and affection, and maternal influence was dependent largely on affectional ties.

The individual, if it be appropriate to use the word, matured in a rôle system in which the dominant themes were filial piety, seniority (and more specifically respect for the aged), masculine superiority, and ancestor worship. The compulsive nature of deferential attitudes found linguistic expression in the use of honorifics (*keigo*) and in the emphasis placed upon verbal propriety in alluding to or addressing an elder.

Marriage was practically uniform and was effected by family action for purposes of familial continuity. Therefore, the rôle of the eldest male child was a prime concern of the family in terms of its organization as a primary group and of its ancestral ties. The

and Rinehart, 1935); Etsu I. Sugimoto, *A Daughter of the Samurai* (New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1925). For extended bibliography see the following: Hugh Borton, Serge Elisséeff, and Edwin O. Reischauer, *A Selected List of Books and Articles on Japan in English, French, and German* (Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1940); *Catalogue of the K. B. S. Library* (Tokyo, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1937).

³ Embree, *The Japanese*, p. 2.

actual marriage was usually arranged by a "go-between" (*nakaudo*), and there was small place for independent mate choice. In order to insure continuity, families without male children commonly practiced adoption. If there were a daughter, the adoptee might be the daughter's husband (*yōshi*), thus assuring both ancestor worship and retention of properties by the in-group. The adoption practices were capable of convenient variations such as the adoption of one's younger brother (*junyōshi*). Because the family's stake was so great, a careful scrutiny would be made of the lineage or "blood" of the prospective in-laws. Tuberculosis, leprosy, inferior social status, or a prison record were regarded as disabilities.

Patently in such a system the family would be the chief agency for social control, and the extension of family concepts and kin relationships into industrial and national spheres suggests its vigor. Miyamoto in his useful monograph points out the functioning significance of this theme as follows: "It is not so important that they speak of their community or nation as if it were a family; what is really significant is that they act towards it in many ways as if it were a family."⁴

Various familial principles and symbols ramify through the whole national life. The government of the Tokugawa feudal period stressed the ethical principles of filial piety and loyalty to one's superiors.⁵ During school ceremonials there is read a charter of education from the throne which abjures "ye, our subjects be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious."⁶ Mrs. Ishimoto says of the Empress, "She was to them [school girls] a gracious mother, and indeed we called her 'The Mother of the Nation.'"⁷ Prior to the death of the Meiji Emperor Mutsuhito, "Papers reported

⁴ Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle," *University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences*, XI, 2 (December 1939) p. 84.

⁵ Embree, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶ Ishimoto *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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⁸ *Ibid.*,
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that many men committed suicide in the hope that their ancestors would accept the offering of a private life as a substitute for that of His Majesty. . . .⁸ Upon the Emperor's death a year of deep mourning occurred and even marriages were postponed until the year was over. (With utter irrelevancy the writer suggests from his meagre insight that he does not concur in the reasoning behind the Doolittle policy of missing the Imperial Palace. The death of the Emperor would be an unparalleled blow to Japa-

bargaining position of the Japanese worker, especially women, depends in large part on the cultural practices deriving from filial patterns.

* * *

As in other populations which are denominated "minorities" the Japanese present a continuum of assimilation ranging from extreme traditionalism on the one hand, termed "Japanesey" by their own group, to the "haolified" or "Americanized" types on the other. Certain features, however, are

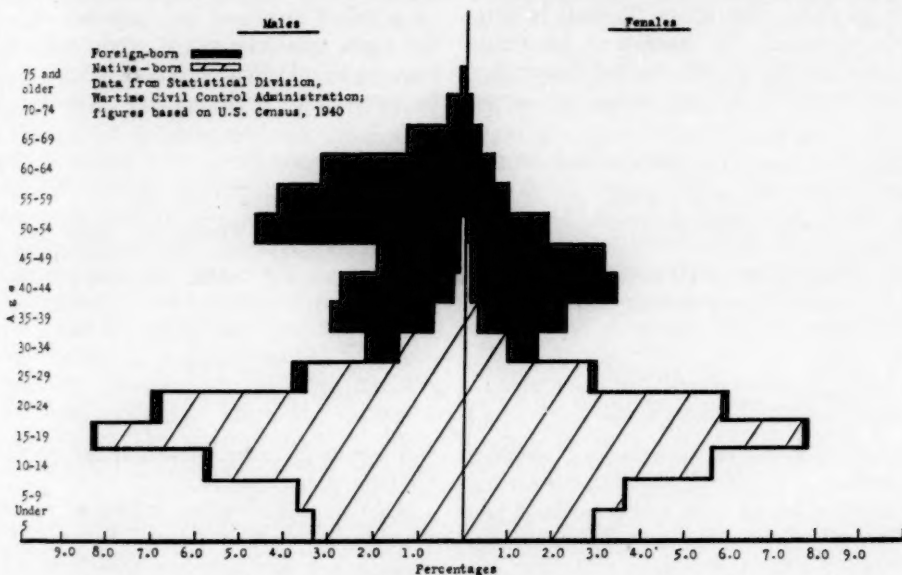


FIGURE 1. Age, Sex, and Nativity for Japanese-Americans of Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington, 1940

nese morale. Even a threat to his life might cause a cabinet crisis.)

Geisha may be adopted legally as daughters of the house. The mistress is termed mother, other geisha are called sisters and the strictures of filial duty operate as in the family. In the popular literature one of the standard themes is the struggle of the geisha against being prostituted by the foster mother.⁹ The feudal form of familism has been a chief factor in the retardation of labor reforms in Japan. The inferiority of the

worth reviewing. The period of Japanese immigration was brief and its termination abrupt. An examination of a population pyramid reveals a great preponderance of foreign-born males in the group over fifty years of age, a considerable preponderance of foreign-born females in the forty to fifty age groups, and an abrupt cleavage between the native- and foreign-born groups at the thirty to thirty-five level where the pyramid is quite narrow. This is suggestive, for it offers demographic support for culture conflict which would have the effect of canalizing along generational lines whatever struggle

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 286f.

arose. It lends a concrete group-formed reality to the "problem of the second generation," to the cultural hybrid, and to marginality which in most minorities is much less clearly defined.

Miyamoto¹⁰ periodizes the history of adjustment of the Japanese population in three intervals: The Frontier Period, The Settling Period, The Second Generation Period. The Frontier Period ended in 1907 with the Gentlemen's Agreement. During this time the immigrants nearly without exception planned to return to Japan. The Settling Period, from 1907 to 1924, saw ghetto formation, economic expansion, the leveling of sex ratios and family founding. The Second Generation Period beginning in 1924 found the people

with the emergence of the *sansei*, the third generation.

It is my opinion, considering the wide cultural gap and the tendency to segregated residence, that the assimilation of the *nisei* has been notably great. Indeed a good case might be made for the proposition that there is a greater culture distance between the *issei* and the *nisei* than between the *nisei* and their caucasoid contemporaries. Besides the home, the chief institutional agency for culture conservation was the Japanese language school. Thirty percent of our U.S. born cases failed to attend language school, and the mean was four years' attendance. The importance of such schooling might easily be over-rated, for the quality of instruction

TABLE I. JAPANESE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS¹¹

Year	United States (Continental) Population	California Population	California		
			Sex Ratio (Males/100 females)	Percent Native- Born	Percent of Native-born over 21 years
1940	126,947	93,717	127.7	64.2	31.9
1930	138,834	97,456	137.6	50.3	7.1
1920	111,010	71,952	171.1	28.9	
1910	72,157	41,356	562.8	7.7	
1900	24,326	10,151	1735.6	1.4	

resigned to a life in America and orienting themselves to the rising *nisei*. To these must be added a fourth upon which we have just embarked. Perhaps it may be called the Period of Isolation, although a more dramatic term would be as suitable.

The chart shows the rapidity with which the native-born population came into numerical ascendancy. There should also be emphasized the very recent emergence of an adult native-born group to challenge the authority of the elders. Speaking of Seattle in the late thirties Miyamoto said: "... in the rising importance of the second generation we have the portent of a break from ... ancient collectivistic traditions ... the break will come suddenly."¹² How suddenly it came, and in what fashion! Not least important is the fact that the break coincided

was formal in character and varied with the training of the teacher.

Another conservative influence was the practice of visiting Japan. Because it is difficult just now to secure reliable information on this matter, I shall not essay any generalization beyond noting that the influence of such visits was mixed. Some youth, inept in Japanese and unused to old country ways, were pushed toward the American end of the culture continuum as they would not have been had they never visited Japan. What we need and what we do not have yet are data on age, duration, and frequency of the visits. The tendency to classify categorically as *kibei* all young people who have visited Japan is patently absurd. The term applies properly to persons who have been assimilated sufficiently to shift their cultural center of gravity to Japan, a process not accomplished in a few months.

In some instances the experiences of

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-66 et passim.

¹¹ From census data.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹³ Quote
I, 1926, p.
(New York)

¹⁴ Misaki
IV (Sociol
p. 47.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

visitors to Japan were little less than traumatic and the *nisei* look back on their sojourn with resentment and a strong awareness of their identity with American culture. Here is an example: "... she explained that it was impossible for her to remain longer in Japan, although she had had every intention of doing so. She had found herself at a peculiar disadvantage there, because, though she looked like a Japanese, she was unable to speak the language; and besides, her dress, language, everything about her, in fact, betrayed her American origin. The anomaly struck the Japanese public as something scandalous, almost uncanny. When she appeared on the streets, crowds followed her."¹³

From the standpoint of family behavior, one focus of adjustment and conflict is linguistic habit. The use of honorifics is essential to familial interaction, and requires a linguistic facility not often achieved by *nisei*. In noting this Yamamoto says "... anything except the correct usage may make for either rudeness or absurdity."¹⁴ Interpreting the language problem further she says, "There is a tendency for the first generation to think that their children are deliberately trying to forget the Japanese language. . . . The younger folks . . . shun contacts with the elders due to this Japanese language deficiency."¹⁵ According to our findings the language pattern of the average Japanese-American home is fairly clear-cut. Parents speak Japanese to each other, the children English to each other and a kind of pidgin Japanese to their parents. Girls, associating more with their linguistically conservative mothers, have a higher degree of Japanese proficiency than do boys.

The in-group security of the Japanese population has not been altered by intermarriage to any considerable extent, but courtship practices have proved more susceptible to change. The use of the go-between

has persisted in a large number of cases but in a formalistic rather than a functional sense. The *nakaudo* is likely to be secured after the fact, for the American ideology of independent mate choice has been accepted by the *nisei*. The dating complex and the notion of romantic love have also become part of the thoughtways of the young. Some aspects of the love pattern such as kissing, the public expression of emotion, free verbalization, social dancing, and the relatively high status of women are of course repugnant to the parental generation and provide areas of culture conflict.¹⁶ In the intensive association of camp life the culture forms are not only divergent but visible and the conflict tends to become overt.

On the other hand parents are no doubt more influential in determining mate choice than is customary among caucasoid Americans, and ancestral criteria of blood and status are significant. Many families undertake the traditional investigation of old-country backgrounds and before the war would send to Japan for a dossier on the suitor's family.

To turn to the particularities of intermarriage, Panunzio in his study for Los Angeles County covering the 1924-33 period found the Japanese intermarriage rate to be only 2.3 percent.¹⁷ Correct this figure for the evasions of the California law which forbids racial intermarriage with whites and our ignorance of out-of-state cases, and the real rate might well approach Adams' findings for Hawaii (1930-34) of 4.5 percent.¹⁸ Our 1941-42 data show six intermarriages, hardly more than one percent of the total. Although the number of cases is too small to warrant generalization, it is interesting that only one

¹³ Cf. R. H. Ross and E. H. Bogardus, "Four Types of Nisei Marriage Patterns," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXV (1940) pp. 63-65; and R. H. Ross and E. H. Bogardus, "Second-generation Race Relations Cycle: a Study in Issei-Nisei Relationships," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIV (1940) pp. 357-363.

¹⁷ Constantine Panunzio, "Intermarriage in Los Angeles, 1924-33," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII, 5 (1942), pp. 693-695.

¹⁸ Romanzo Adams, *Racial Intermarriage in Hawaii* (New York, Macmillan, 1937), p. 344.

¹⁴ Quoted from Robert E. Park, *The Survey*, May 1, 1926, p. 136, in E. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 104.

¹⁵ Misako Yamamoto in *Social Process in Hawaii*, IV (Sociology Club, University of Hawaii, 1938) p. 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Chinese was involved whereas in Panunzio's cases seventeen of twenty-seven intermarriages were with Chinese, manifestly an expression of the penetration of global conflicts into the interstitial areas of Los Angeles.

In order to state objectively some of the effects of the war on Japanese adjustment, I should like to draw some data from a study to be published later of Japanese marriages contracted in Los Angeles County. The whole analysis covers the periods May 1937 through December 1938 and January 1941 through April 1942. For this discussion I shall use only the intervals May 1937 through April 1938 and May 1941 through April 1942. May through April was taken as the statistical year because the evacuation introduced a new situation. It will be inexpedient to offer the full statistical analysis here, but some generalizations may be made.

The dramatic increase in marriages in the second year over the first and in the war over the pre-war period may be explained only by the tensional system in which this minority operated. The latter figures are conservative in that the intervening period saw the introduction of a pre-marital medical examination requirement in California with the usual increase in out-of-state marriages. In turn, however, this factor is probably corrected by the age trend of the Japanese population.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF JAPANESE MARRIAGES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY BY MONTHS

Month	1937-1938	1941-1942
May	19	30
June	21	54
July	17	24
August	16	30
September	31	29
October	24	30
November	25	40
December	17	28
January	11	42
February	25	67
March	24	103
April	19	85
Total	249	562

Table 2 shows that in the first year there were 249 marriages; in the second there were

562. Of the latter 297 fell in the first four months of 1942.

In the seven months before the outbreak of war we have a population responding, as did the rest of the nation, to the pressure of anxiety, fear, and excitement, and marrying because of it. December shows a sharp drop-off which I had interpreted as a catatonic phase of inactivity, but comparative study makes such a point of view doubtful. The high point was reached early in April when 44 marriages were solemnized in a single week.

It is further interesting to note that those in the upper age group were also affected by this trend. Fifty-four persons over 40 years of age were married between January and April of 1942 compared with fifteen in the 1937-38 period. There is a high degree of co-residence reported in this group, probably indicating a wish to formalize common-law or foreign marriages.

After Pearl Harbor ten venerable marriage licenses were used whose average age was 41 months, and only two of which had been secured within a year. It is clear even from brief analysis that the Japanese were hurriedly entrenching themselves within the familial institution, cementing and formalizing old relationships, and precipitating new ones.

In the weeks before evacuation courtships that saw marriage as months or years away matured and were consummated, and casual meetings became serious affairs. The only way to insure being evacuated together was to marry. Parents were bedeviled into granting consent long before they had time for seemingly investigation. The go-between (*nakado*) was busy indeed, but in the haste compromises were made with ceremonial observances that otherwise would not have been allowed. Haste further meant that expensive and elaborate weddings were dispensed with, and couples who were postponing marriage for financial reasons found the obstacle removed. In the assembly centers affluence would not count for much. As an excuse the evacuation worked both ways.

Before proceeding a word must be said on the character of my sources of information.

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For the most part I have been dependent upon *nisei* trained in Western universities for direct information and for field assistance. My sampling is badly slanted wherever acculturational variables are paramount. The *nisei* who attended our universities were predominantly urban with a good deal of the cultural apparatus which that implies. They were more secure economically than the average Japanese-American. They were committed most thoroughly to the American way of life. Those who have collaborated as field assistants, *kibei* as well as *nisei*, were chosen because of their training in the social sciences, their facility in Japanese, or both. Later on it will be possible to make acknowledgment by name for their work and to assure them that if these studies make sense it is their fault.

If an enormously complicated set of relationships may be reduced to a few hunches, it is my opinion that the crises of war and evacuation resulted, at least temporarily, in an increase in familial interaction.

The policy of the Wartime Civil Control Administration of evacuating household groups as units reinforced the group stabilizing tendency, and family members who were not co-residents often returned home. There arose in a few minds the erroneous notion that evacuation by families was mandatory and so groups were re-formed that may have lost their functional character. If this notion seems improbable the reader must recall the flood of rumor in which the Japanese-Americans struggled at the time of evacuation, and indeed still do. The reestablishment of family groups was by no means universal, however. Some were restored after evacuation, and some still wait upon administrative action. In a later report I hope to include information on the matter of post-evacuation residential changes.

With their facility in English the elder children had a large rôle in making decisions. However, when it became apparent that no distinction was to be made between the *nisei* and their Japanese-born parents and when loyalty tensions arose, the American citizens lost status. The culture conflicts did not resolve. Indeed the marginality of

the *nisei* was thrown into high relief, but temporarily the social manifestations of strife were submerged by the necessity for collective action.

Another factor making for group stability was the practice of removing neighborhoods or organized groups together and housing them in the same areas in the assembly centers. Many of these groups had no previous existence but were organized to meet the emergency. Others were loosely integrated community groups which took on the special function and accepted outsiders.

The general circumstances surrounding the evacuation are well enough known so that they need not be recited here. The cumulative and confusing pressures may be appreciated from the following chronology:

- January 29, 1942. First Attorney-General's order establishing prohibited restricted zones on West Coast and regulating movement of enemy aliens. Subsequent orders on January 31, February 2, 4, 5, and 7.
- February 13. Letter to the President from Pacific Coast Congressional Delegation recommending evacuation from strategic areas of all persons of Japanese ancestry.
- February 19. Executive order authorizing designation of military areas from which any person might be excluded. Beginning of voluntary evacuation.
- February 21. Tolan Committee begins Pacific Coast hearings on enemy aliens and Japanese-Americans.
- March 2. Proclamation by General DeWitt designating Military Areas No. 1 (western half of the coastal states and southern Arizona) and No. 2 (remainder of four states).
- March 14. Wartime Civil Control Administration established under Western Defense Command to supervise evacuation.
- March 16. Work started on assembly center at Manzanar.
- March 18. War Relocation Authority created to relocate evacuated persons.
- March 19. Fourteen Western governors oppose settlement of Japanese evacuees in their states.
- March 23. One thousand voluntary evacuees from Los Angeles leave to prepare Manzanar center. All persons of Japanese ancestry ordered to evacuate Bainbridge Island near Seattle by March 30.
- March 27. Curfew for all persons of Japanese

ancestry in Military Area No. 1, requiring them to be at home between 8:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M., forbidding certain possessions, and restricting travel without permit to five miles from home.

March 29. Further voluntary evacuation from Military Area No. 1 prohibited.

March 30. Three thousand persons of Japanese ancestry ordered to evacuate Terminal Island in Los Angeles Harbor to Santa Anita Assembly Center by April 5.

June 2. Persons of Japanese ancestry forbidden to leave California part of Military Area No. 2 (eastern half of state) anticipatory to evacuation of this area.

June 3. Evacuation of 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from Military Area No. 1 completed.¹⁹

Here are the questions that were being asked: Would there be an evacuation? Would an exception be made of citizens? When would the evacuation come? What areas would be included? How much time would be allowed between notice and evacuation? What property might be taken? What property should be disposed of and how? Should an attempt be made to move inland before the curfew was established? (8,000 did move inland, of which more than half remained outside the centers.²⁰) For most of the population the questions were answered in a period of less than two weeks between the notice of the evacuation date for their area and their actual removal.

Another factor that increased the stress of family adjustment was the detention of more than 4,700 persons.²¹ Most of these were *issei* males, the most responsible segment of the community and those most practiced in making overt societal adjustments. Furthermore they comprised a disproportionately large number of family heads. The significance of the figure 4,700 becomes clear upon noting that there were over 23,000 family heads among the Japanese-Americans in the

four Western states (Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington). The capacity to adjust of any family would be damaged by the loss of its responsible head; the effect on the Japanese-American family with its heritage of patriarchal responsibility was often shattering. The statistical support for this statement lies in the fact that 45.6 percent of all *issei* in the four Western states were listed as family heads by the 1940 census, whereas 6.0 percent of *nisei* were so listed.

It is important to note that the condition was not merely a temporary one. By January 1943 about 1,400 detained persons had been placed in relocation centers with their families, 2,000 had been sent to internment camps where aliens defined as disloyal are incarcerated, and the remainder were still in detention camps awaiting hearing.²²

Although the residence plan in the relocation centers presumed the preservation of the family unit, the limitations of space required compromises with the plan. Detached individuals were housed with small family groups. The average size living quarters for a family of five is a single room 20 by 25 feet; for smaller families less space is allowed. Auditory privacy for individual or family is absent even when housed in separate units, for the necessarily flimsy construction keeps out no noises. The construction provided is known in military parlance as "theatre of operations" type of tar-paper covered barracks and is designed to last for five years. The *nisei* who had not the background of adjustment to the rather *alfresco* type of native Japanese residence are the most disturbed by living conditions.

The whole problem of the inability of the primary group to isolate itself was and is one of the commonest complaints. To the concern of their elders, childrens and adolescents became sexually sophisticated and voyeuristically oriented. Lovers became inhibited or defiant or both. The problem is a cultural as well as a personal one when one recalls Japanese conservatism about public demonstrations of affection. Here is an extract from a letter which states the confusion of a young

¹⁹ Abridged and adapted from War Relocation Authority, *First Quarterly Report* (March 18 to June 30, 1942) pp. 1-5.

²⁰ Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, U. S. Senate, Seventy-Eighth Congress, First Session, on S. 444. Washington: 1943, pp. 2-3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²² *Loc. cit.*

newlywed. "Married life is no lark in camp when you're in love and don't mind if people know it. You want them to know it, but, of course, social pressure prevents. Seeing the same Japanese neighbors day in and day out while you pass by those gossiping groups of men and women makes you freeze up. In my own vicinity I rarely hold hands . . . but my conscience doesn't bother me when I'm away from home where I don't know the old people. I guess we can't blame the oldsters for making meaningless comments about those passing by, but pretty soon they become rumors, etc. All of this conservative behavior only because our parents didn't experience the same type of sex behavior during their prime. In fact, my parents have never seen us kissing except once at our wedding ceremony."

The most important influence on family integration was the loss of function and the absence of need for any kind of collective action. After the intensive collaboration of planning for removal, which knit the group so tightly together for a brief span, there suddenly were no decisions to be made, little work to do, and no household routine. The house-organizing plans were translated into barrack existence with community dining halls, laundries, and toilet facilities. No longer were there any common purposes or activities to provide functional ties and group meanings. The father's authority as head of the household lost much of its functional character, the age-hierarchy was all but destroyed, and group purposes disappeared. Nothing further from the Japanese plan of family organization could have been contrived.

Each member became a free agent, and small children detached themselves from parental supervision, returning to the home barracks perhaps only to sleep. Especially in the assembly centers the age group promptly became the organizing principle, and the clique became a predominant form of organization. Community activities such as religious observances, supervised recreation, education and work were arranged on age lines, thereby reinforcing the tendency. In the relocation centers the system of organized education

was the most effective time-filling device.

Almost all observers report that the elders are concerned about the decay in manners of the children. Perhaps the general tensions plus the frictions of barracks existence were responsible for the population becoming verbally less inhibited and more aggressive.

There has been a tendency a priori to interpret the breakup of the Japanese colonies in our cities as assimilative in character. In the very long run this may be true, but the immediate results have been quite the opposite. *Nisei* who never would have acquired any facility in Japanese are learning it. After the first adjustments of relocation, the cultural reinforcement that the *issei* received from each other made for reacculturation both of themselves and their children.

Because there are no horizons to the life space, and because there can be none, group-forming decisions are postponed. Having children, for an example, is regarded as extremely undesirable. There is a great deal of doubt as to the wisdom of contracting new marriages. It will be interesting to discover if this doubt is expressed in a low marriage rate.

In retrospect it is difficult to conceive how the population could have met the crisis as well as it did without its strongly integrating primary group forms. Initially at least the emergency yielded a further cohesion. At the end of 1942 two general sets of forces were observable. First a tendency of the *nisei* to withdraw from the familial group with its conservative Japanese cultural attributes, as evidenced by age group formations. The opportunity to move from the centers which has been afforded some persons, mostly *nisei*, reinforces and gives reality to the withdrawal. Second there are those who have tended increasingly to identify themselves with their parents and the parental culture (by no means necessarily with Japan). Partly this may be traced to the frustrations of camp life and the war effort. Partly it is due to their intensive association in small living quarters and their loss of status as a culturally emergent group. If policies and politics permit the tendency to withdraw promises to be ascendant.

We are pursuing the investigation in the following ways: (1) As nearly as possibly family histories are being kept up to date. It is planned to attempt to maintain such contacts beyond the war so that we shall have a set of adjustmental histories as complete as possible. Because our collaborators are assimilated and clearly loyal persons they are being relocated out of the centers and our task increases in difficulty. (2) Pre-evacuation and post-evacuation marriages are being studied from the comparative standpoint. (3) Mixed marriages are being investigated inasmuch as they illuminate such features as group definition, isolation,

and the like. (4) An attempt is being made to secure full histories of divorces. The divorce rate promises to be very high.

This paper has outlined the first steps in the analysis of a set of problems which in some respects are as close as sociological data ever get to being experimental. It has presented a brief summary of the backgrounds of Japanese-American families and their first adjustment to a situation unique in American history. In the most modest fashion it offers itself as an acknowledgment of a salient obligation of social scientists, the documentation of the present.

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FOOD AND SOCIAL STATUS IN A RURAL SOCIETY*

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In a particular rural-to-urban, sacred-secular change, one of the transitional features is the development of a status system based upon economic position, stimulated by the desire for security in an insecure economy. One of the important symbols of status, and of aspiration for higher status, is *food*. Its psychological and symbolic functions in the status-prestige structure of an Ohio riverbottoms culture are analyzed in detail.

IN THE literature covering the sociology of diet there is a growing tendency to consider food as an indicator of cultural values and social processes.¹ In all societies, whether folk or urban, attitudes toward food tend to become implicated in the social structure—food is both object and subject of the social structure. In smaller societies, more nearly approaching the folk type, food achieves a deeper integration within symbol and value-systems, since food-getting activities constitute the largest part of human endeavor. In a complex urban culture, food-getting tends to be a utilitarian enterprise by contrast, entering only superficially into the pattern of symbol. The smaller the society, therefore, the greater the chance that food can be used as an indicator of basic social values.

This paper will describe how in a contemporary American rural society, food is a

prominent element of the prestige and status structure.

THE CULTURE

In the riverbottoms area (the "Bottoms"), there exists a series of socio-economic groupings:

River People. Shantyboat-dwellers, fishing for a living, who migrate up and down the river during the year, tying their craft to regular landings on farm property.

Riverbank People. Ex-fishermen who beach their boats and live on farm-land as permissive squatters, acting as laborers for tenant farmers; or, landless families occupying small shacks or tents, fishing and/or doing farm labor.

Sharecroppers. Families sub-sharing land from tenant farmers, or sharing land with landlords on a one-sixth or less basis. May also work as farm laborers, and may assist riverbank people in fishing.

WPA Workers. Often combining WPA work with sharecropping.

Tenant Farmers. Families sharing land with landlord on a one-fourth to three-fourths basis; economically the most stable and affluent group, but by midwestern farm standards, impoverished.

Among these five groupings of the Bottoms population, economic ties and common understandings are sufficiently strong to form a "society." Despite the high mobility of families in such an economically insecure environment, a nucleus of values, social forms, and solidarity persists.²

²A detailed analysis of this Bottoms culture can be found in the author's paper, "Some Problems of Status and Social Solidarity in a Riverbottoms Community," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Sept., 1943. It is concluded in this paper that the Bottoms

* This paper embraces some of the data secured while the author was a member of the Culture and Foodways Project of Southern Illinois, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and the University of Chicago, at the behest of the U.S.D.A. Extension Division and the Rockefeller Foundation. The author wishes to express his obligations to Herbert Passin, field director of the study, W. L. Warner, faculty sponsor, and to Dr. Margaret Mead of the National Research Council, all of whom helped with generous advice and encouragement in this and other portions of the research. (See Bennett, Smith, and Passin, "Food and Culture in Southern Illinois," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 5.)

¹ Cora du Bois ("Attitudes toward Food and Hunger in Alor," in *Language, Culture and Personality*, Sapir Memorial Volume, 1941), shows how food can be used as an indicator of cultural drives, "basic logics," and personality types.

The semi-nomadic river people have the fewest relations both with one another and with the surrounding Bottoms groups. Riverbank people tend to group together and support one another in times of misfortune and economic pressure. They very frequently exchange food. Sharecroppers and WPA workers who also sharecrop tend to attach themselves to individual tenant farmers, rather than to each other. This aggregate of sharecroppers and tenants forms a mutual-aid grouping. Tenant farmers have their own loosely-organized clique, beyond their participation in mutual-aid.

The mutual-aid system, which engages the labor and machinery of nearly all the tenants in the Bottoms (sharecroppers furnishing only labor), enables the individual tenant to operate his farm economically. It operates as an organized reciprocal exchange of labor and equipment.

None of the usual criteria (with the exception of a school) for a true "community" organization were found. The Bottoms lacked a church, a trading center, kin ties among the inhabitants, communal assemblages, and any developed network of inter-familial visiting. The only fairly complex form of social interaction was the mutual-aid system, and in a lesser degree, the symbiotic organization of the riverbank people.

Within this limited community organization, individuals in the five socio-economic groupings were distributed in a ranked status system based upon economic pursuit, personality, familial origin, and other criteria. Tenant farmers were the top of this system, the sharecropper families intermediate, and the riverbank people on the bottom. River people had a special pariah rank, apart from the groups on land.

Since food-getting, through gardening, livestock-raising, and the necessary cash purchases, constituted a major activity and matter for concern, it was hypothesized that the society would display attitudes toward food

is a case of transition between folk and urban ideal types—displaying homogeneity in some contexts, heterogeneity—caused by the impact of alternative values—in others. The picture of loose community organization combined with social solidarity and a relatively complex status system is an expression of this transitional type.

similar to those found in certain "primitive" cultures, in accordance with the generalization made in the first paragraph of this paper. Moreover, since status was one of the most important pre-occupations of the people, it was reasoned that food should be one of the symbolic values around which the status-behavior was organized.

However, inasmuch as the Bottoms was not a true "folk" culture, but showed certain urban features, such as intense individualistic striving and great secularization, it further followed that food would lack much of the organized ritualistic involvement found in primitive cultures.

To test these hypotheses, interviews and testing devices similar to the paired-comparison technique were conducted with all informants in the various socio-economic levels. The details of these techniques cannot be given here for lack of space.

PRELIMINARY STUDY

Early in the investigation it was thought that evidence for status symbolism of food might lie in the body of beliefs known as "food folklore": good and bad foods, "hot" and "cold" foods, foods causing or curing illness, and other usual categories. The results of this study showed little homogeneity and a marked shallowness of belief upon such matters. Inconsistency and indifference toward the few "beliefs" that were found demonstrated that status symbolism certainly did not lie in this sphere.

As this fact became evident, it was believed that an investigation of food preferences in general might give some indication of the special values under search. Schedules and interview tests were accordingly shifted to this context. The problem, as formulated for this stage of the study, was: Do people actually "like" what they eat, or what they desire, or both?

The study of food preferences had two results: First, a large number of foods which had been previously suspected of having prestige value³ were found to be liked or dis-

³The ascertainment of prestige in the case of individual foods was made gradually throughout all phases of the study, by close observation of informant-reactions in all contexts. The food-prefer-

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liked with fervor, but it was difficult to secure statements upon how much was eaten. A second result was the very evident low emotional involvement, or affect, of all foods. There was a conspicuous lack of interest in food as something-to-eat, but a developed interest in food as a symbol of prestige.

Prestige foods were plainly marked in the preference lists not only by appearing in high frequency, but also by their apparently contradictory appearance in both "liked" and "disliked" lists for the same individuals. Some of these foods were: Fish, chili, cocoa, green peas, iced tea, eggs, and bologna. For example, chili was a new food introduced in cans about 10 years ago, and it represented a relatively high urban-prestige article. Everyone had tried it—those who declared they did not like it noticeably exaggerated their dislike, as if to apologize for its lack in their diet. Green peas seemed to be a sensitive status indicator; they marked the high urban-valued farmer, whereas ordinary crowder peas were a common, everyday food. Fish showed the most contradictory responses, and also the most fervent; it was therefore suspected of having important value.

It was concluded that Bottoms people were governed in their tastes by standards based upon food-prestige of various sorts. Food-preferences were not natural, and a fortuitous result of taste alone, but were controlled by individual response to cultural values.

FOOD PRESTIGES

At this point those foods with response patterns that indicated their high, low, or contradictory value were subjected to new tests, and intensive interviewing with all informants was carried out in an effort to secure the total context of cultural situations in which these values might be operative. The results of this study will be presented by giving a rough, non-analytic classification of prestige foods, and then analyzing and refining features of this classification.

Foods with High Prestige through Attachment

ence tests tended to clinch or validate the judgments on prestige, and to expand the interpretation.

to Status System. In general, these were all foods eaten by tenant farmers, including milk and eggs. The ability to purchase store foods, as well as the foods themselves, was also admired by persons subordinate to the tenant level. One shantyboat family scorned this tenant diet, holding up their different "river food" as the ideal—the exception that proves the rule.

Some foods attached to the status system had in certain contexts a low prestige value. Fish is such a food. It will be more carefully discussed later.

Foods with High Prestige through Attachment to Urban Positive Values. These appeared principally in the tendency for the non-tenant families to desire such exotics and luxuries as fresh fruit, candy, hamburgers, oysters, etc. A few of the urban-oriented tenants desired to "eat like the town folks," also, and consequently tended to prepare foods by urban recipes.

Foods with Low Prestige acquired through Symbolizing In-Group vs. Out-Group Attitudes. "Nigger food" (muskrats, yellow corn bread, wild game, and greens). German foods:⁴ Blood pudding, excessive use of white bread. Urban foods in general: "City people are too stingy" with such farm foods as grease gravy, for example. This latter low prestige urban value was separate and conceptually unconnected with the high prestige value surrounding urban exotics and luxury foods.

Foods with High Prestige Acquired through Attachment to Ceremonial Functions. These were foods that were traditionally regarded as reserved for picnics, family gatherings, holidays, and church suppers. Few of these events occurred in the Bottoms, but they were in the cultural tradition.

Table 1 summarizes informants' responses to prestige foods.

It was found that any one food may have prestige connotations within several or even all of these categories. Thus fresh milk (high prestige) functioned as a farming-status indicator, as a symbol of healthy urban life, or conversely, as a symbol of healthy rural life, depending upon the status rank of the family or individual. Also, salmon salad functioned in a ceremonial-prestige context (as a special church-supper dish), or as a symbol of identification with urban luxury standards. A generalization: Any given food can be used to express the values adherent to any social re-

⁴ Referring to a German farming group in the Hills region north of the Bottoms.

lation or attitudinal complex. The negative or positive aspect of these relations and/or attitudes will determine the high or low prestige of the food.⁵

In addition to positive and negative prestiges, some foods brought forth consistent ambivalent responses from informants.⁶ It was found that ambivalent prestiges occurred when a particular food (1) becomes involved in features of the social organization con-

Several foods received ambivalent reactions. The most important of these was fish, and an analysis of its meaning follows:

Data secured from older informants attest to the frequent use of fish as a food in the past:

All the people et fish in them days, a lot of it. They don't eat much now. . . . I don't know why, but I guess fishin' is too nasty a job for 'em now. Fisherman work as hard as any farmer,

TABLE 1. MODES OF INFORMANT-REACTIONS TO PRESTIGE FOODS

Type of Prestige	Tenants	Sharecropper-WPA-Farm Laborers	Riverbank Squatters-Fishermen-Farm Laborers
<i>Positive</i>	Little emotional response, but sometimes voluble if they have conspicuous amount of the food.	Declarative; tend to say they have the food, even if do not, or say they wish they had it.	Wistful desire to have the food; admiration of "farm grub."
<i>Negative</i>	Indifference, or casual disgust.	Explicit denial of use, or avoidance of subject, especially if they are forced to eat food because of economic pressure. Disgust strenuously expressed. Ambivalences.	Usually denial, but sometimes unwilling admission of use. Ambivalences.
In-Group vs. Out-Group—Negro, German, urban vs. "farm diet."	Mention only if subject introduced. Disgust, or humorous response, or expression of pride in own diet.	Same as tenants.	Generally same, although these people rarely know region well enough to have precisely-formulated opinions.

nected with highly-sanctioned values, or (2) in areas where a conflict between an older behavior-pattern or attitude and a newer alternative (usually urban) value has occurred.⁷

⁵In the earlier stages of the study, prestige foods were designated as "high" or "low." Later, when the subtle and involved character of the situation was revealed, the terms positive and negative were substituted. Thus, once a *high* prestige food can be related to a specific social attitude or form, it can be called *positive* prestige.

⁶While in the food preference stage of the study, ambivalent prestige reactions were denoted "contradictory," as has been mentioned. After refinement and study of the prestige contexts, these contradictory foods, both liked and disliked by the same families and individuals in different contexts, were seen to show ambivalent prestige—both positive and negative—in different contexts and status positions.

⁷A theoretical statement might be offered: The degree of ambivalence—that is, the tendency to vary, in individual cases, between positive and negative prestige—is a measure of the degree and dura-

but they ain't as good. Fishermen was always called thieves in them days. . . . There used to be a sayin' 'a fisherman had a hook fer anythin' he could catch.' When a fisherman would tie up at yer place, he would give you all the fish you could eat. (Ike Williams, age 83.)

The above and other statements suggest that fishermen and river people in general fell under a severe social taboo, perhaps even more severe than today. However, the data show that fish as an article of diet did not share in this negative social evaluation, and was freely eaten by the agricultural population.

At the present time, and apparently back at least 15 years, fish as a food has fallen

tion of the conflict. Some hypotheses from this statement: The more prominent the ambivalence, the more intense the conflict of social forms, symbols, and alternative values. The more prominent the ambivalence, the longer the duration of the conflict. The author offers these hypotheses for further test; they will not be dwelt upon in this paper.

into the sphere of this low social evaluation, and is now regarded as low-prestige, hardly fit for regular use. Furthermore, the intensity of dislike is variable, ranging from complete negativism, through ambivalence, to indifference. No positive reactions, save one of a very special sort, to be discussed later, could be found.

A careful study of the materials evoked the following generalization: The symbolic value of fish varies according to: (1) The degree and type of conflict over negative evaluation with rational desire or need, which in turn really varies in relation to (2) the particular status position of the individual expressing the given reaction. An analysis of the ramifications of *fish* within status rankings, illustrating these principles, follows:

To the fisherman, living on the riverbank or in a shantyboat, but making all or most of his living from the river, fish represents a means to a living—a cash crop—and as such is not valued as food.

Why, we fishermen don't eat much fish. We eat less than most people. We got to sell all we can git!

Closer observation of this economic explanation reveals that it is used in most cases as a rationalization of the fisherman's consciousness of the negative prestige value of fish. This type of rationalization is particularly acute if the fisherman is economically linked to a tenant farmer, as a farm laborer. In this case he experiences a conflict between the desire to identify with the farmer group, which requires a rejection of fish, and the proximity of fish as an easy source of food to help eke out his meager diet.

Another type of ambivalence, one which features an apparent exception to the rule of general negative prestige for fish, was found in a family who operated a fishing camp and also fished for a living. They had rationalized fish to a positive level, because of their intense admiration for the farmers' "human way of livin'." Farmers were their principal customers, therefore the head of the family played up fish and fishing as his unique specialty in life—a specialty which he set against farming as of equal importance and skill, but which at the same time he

subconsciously recognized as lower in the local scale. Of fish as a food, he stated,

Now fish should be et once a week. It's good fer everybody. It ain't considered meat at all—it's a real food.

In a later interview, however, he associated fish with "them lower type of river people," thus illustrating his fundamental ambivalence brought about through his attempt to rationalize a low status occupation into a specialty and consequently into a higher status. In his context of unique economic pursuit, as contrasted to farming, fish had positive prestige. In the context of the scorned river people, with whom this man desired not be identified, fish had negative prestige.

The shantyboat-dwellers, who have large investments in fishing equipment and make their entire living from fishing, also say they cannot eat fish because of the necessity for selling it. Since they must sell all the fish they can catch in order to insure a cash supply, the economic reason for not eating fish is in their case a genuine one. In addition, they are exterior to the Bottoms status system, and do not react to it with rationalizations as do the riverbank people.

To the farm laborer or sharecropper striving toward the tenant farmer level, and in many cases helping a riverbank person in his fishing, fish represents a low-class food, eaten only by "them river rats," and not fit for human consumption. Occasionally these people will admit they eat fish, but hasten to add, "not very often." Actually fish is often a necessary part of their diet, but they will conceal this fact from the interviewer.

On the tenant level such decided negative reactions are not found. Fish is not eaten frequently "because the women don't like to cook it," or,

We eat fish once in a while. The kids all love it. Harry and I like it once in a while, too. We only had it once last year. (Mary Murray, tenant housewife.)

Thus the ambivalence on the tenant level is expressed differently than among fishermen and riverbank people. Fish is dismissed rather carelessly as unimportant, and the investigator receives the impression that it is a rather vulgar food not eaten by "farm folks"

and hardly worth discussing. The negative prestige of food in this type of ambivalence is not contrasted with positive prestige, but rather with an attitude of indifference.

Non-Tenant	Attitude varies between
Ambivalence . . .	Positive and Negative Prestige
Tenant	Attitude varies between
Ambivalence .	Positive Prestige and Indifference

This ideal picture may be distorted by the fact that some riverbank people, especially those depending upon a tenant farmer for support, will respond to questions about fish in a manner identical to tenants. As one riverbank woman declared,

They claim fish is a healthy thing. We eat it once in a while, for a change. Not very much. I love fish.

The ambivalence and indifference is clear in this statement, and it was almost identical with reactions secured from the Murray family, with whom this riverbank family was in economic symbiosis. Since this woman visited Mary Murray constantly, it is likely she assimilated the tenant attitude, and therefore used this attitude as a demonstration of her identification with tenant values. This riverbank woman showed her desire to be like the tenants by copying tenant attitudes; other riverbank people and sharecroppers, who are not as close to a tenant farmer, and who feel their frustrated position very keenly, will show their desire to identify with the tenants by expressing exaggerated revulsion toward fish.

It must be emphasized that the processes at work in the status system are wholly dynamic, and although status-reactions are relatively fixed, transition and apparent contradictions may occur. Direct imitation of tenant attitudes by riverbank people can distort the logical symmetry of the picture. With sharecroppers, however, we are dealing with a group economically and socially intermediate between tenant and lower levels. Sharecroppers are desperately trying to rise to a tenancy status, and feel the need to strongly identify with all phases of the tenant level. This means that their reaction to fish will be exaggerated and intensified, rather than simply imitative of the tenant attitude.

In general, fish is eaten more frequently in the lower levels than informants will admit, according to constant check on actual meals. Apparently tenants do eat it as rarely as they say, however. Since the tenants have an abundance of foods that can be substituted for fish, they feel no economic or dietetic compulsion to eat it. Therefore they have no need to rationalize or falsify their statements on quantity.

In order to portray further the relation of food prestiges to the status system, we will consider in addition to specific foods like fish, the *total response pattern* to a number of foods in certain type-families. This pattern may be defined as the general impression of prestige and status reactions derived from a study, in each family, of all the foods they feel have prestige of the various sorts. This total response pattern, emerging from a series of tests and interviews, helped determine the value assigned to any given food. Extensive analysis of interview material was necessary before precise conclusions could be drawn. The pattern itself was useful in sharpening the assignment of status to a given family or individual.

Only a few of the prestige foods for each family are shown in Table 2. The list covers only two families in non-tenant positions, but the tenant level lists bring out the contrast with non-tenants. Tenant lists also show differences between farm-oriented and urban-oriented tenants.

The Garrell family "squat" on the riverbank, making a living by fishing and farm labor. The Sayers are sharecroppers, but pick up extra money by fishing "partners" with the Garrells. Of this fact Shang Sayers is not proud, and tries to conceal it. Ginny Garrell resents her low status, and before marriage was accustomed to a small town store-bought diet. She wishes to return to the urban life. Jim Garrell has a Kentucky hillbilly background and aspires to a "farm"—meaning a sharecropping arrangement. The Sayers are desperately trying to rise to a tenant status.

The prestige lists (Table 2) bear out these facts. The Garrell positive list reflects Mrs. Garrell's desire to have the urban exotics she has been deprived of since marriage. She wants urban foods, whereas her husband wants the typical farm foods. The Sayers' positive list re-

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fects desires for urban exotics, brought about by severe economic deprivation, but it also shows the desire to identify with the farm diet, in such items as grease for cooking, homemade lard, chickens, and so on. The ambivalent-to-negative attitudes toward fish illustrate the analysis made earlier.

Comparison of these lists with tenant lists is instructive in the differences in food-prestige caused by status aspiration and economic deprivation. Thus the sharecropper *desires* chickens and fresh milk, because they have

The penetration of the tenant diet by urban foods was impressive. Studies of interview material and weekly purchase-slips showed such items as peanut butter, pork and beans, canned peaches, canned corn and tomatoes, canned salmon, canned cocoanut, cookies, mustard, crackers, and dry cereals. These articles were found in varying degrees of integration and prestige value. Even the most important prestige items, however, had relatively less prestige for tenants than for non-tenants. To the sharecropper or river-

TABLE 2. SOME RIVERBANK AND SHARECROPPER PRESTIGE FOODS

Positive		Ambivalent		Negative	
Garrell	Sayers	Garrell	Sayers	Garrell	Sayers
Strawberries and rare fruits	Fresh fruit	Mrs. G.: Fish	Fish	Mr. G.: Fish	
Desire for fresh milk	Roast beef			Canned milk	
Chicken and duck	Chicken and duck				
Chicken grease	Meat grease for cooking				
Hamburger and beef	Oysters				
25-cent bacon	25-cent bacon				
Iced tea	Cakes				
Mrs. G.: Very fancy urban foods	"Good old farm foods"			Mrs. G.: "Farm foods"	"City foods"
Store-bought lard	Home-made lard				

farm-diet prestige; fresh milk has prestige for tenants because they are proud to have it, and because (in one case) "city children" always have fresh milk. The sharecropper and the riverbank family alike desire some urban exotics (although more marked in the latter, of course), since they both have general feelings of deprivation. Interview material indicates that at least in the Sayers' case there was a tendency to associate urban exotics with the farm diet because both urbanisms and farm food had high prestige for them. This finds an echo in the marked reaction of satisfied pride by most tenants in their *ability* (i.e., cash supply) to buy things like fresh fruit, cookies, and canned goods.

bank person, these articles were financially out of reach in addition to being identified with the tenant level, and therefore they represented higher value.

An interesting situation appears here. Tenants are actually closer to the urban food goals of some of the riverbank people than they are to the stricter "farm food" aspirations of the sharecroppers. This is the case because the tenants have the cash to buy these urban foods. The sharecroppers, in their eagerness to show identification with tenants, tend to overlook the urbanisms in the tenant diet, and yearn for the "farm foods." These latter foods are more within their reach, since they have small gardens and some livestock.

One simple device utilized to test the farm-urban relationship was the question, "What do you consider to be an ideal meal?" In each case the query gave the informant an opportunity to express his deprivation-feelings and aspirations—to show the relative degrees of his yearning for "farm grub" and urban delicacies. "Ideal" in the non-tenant families was generally defined as the typical tenant diet, plus a few urbanisms, like oysters, canned salmon, celery, and hamburger.

Although it is possible to give generalized lists of prestige foods for each of the status positions, it should be noted that within each position the individual will tend to use food to solve his own particular status problem. One riverbank fisherman used food to symbolize his extreme poverty; a shanty-boat fisherman used fish to symbolize his unique status as a member of a vanishing group—the river nomads; a sharecropper used food as a symbol of his desire to get a "piece of land" and raise a big garden—and so on.

In some of the more extreme cases, prestige-reactions completely dominated the food-preferences and tastes of an individual. He liked what he thought he *ought* to like. By and large, however, Bottoms-dwellers will consider foods to have prestige if they symbolize: (1) Desire for upward social mobility, toward the tenant level, and (2) Foods symbolizing the in-group as vs. the out-group. Urban-valued foods occupy places within both these major categories, and display many shadings of attitudes within each. Ceremonially-valued foods occupy a position largely within the first category, since it is only the tenants that can participate in the rare communal gatherings. Non-tenants place these ceremonial dishes in the emulated tenant context. The above paragraph can be regarded as an analytic breakdown of the classification given at the beginning of this discussion of prestige foods.

The preceding analysis has concentrated upon foods with social valuation of three types: positive, negative, and ambivalent. It was found that the reasons for such evaluations lie in the desires and aspirations of individuals, according to their position in the local rank order.

A fourth category of food-evaluation, a *neutral* area, was found. This consisted of foods with no prestige of any sort; they also lacked any emotional meaning as good-to-eat, and were taken for granted as common articles of diet. Significantly, however, these foods varied by status position—neutral foods for one rank were prestige foods for another.

One area where neutral values were strongest was in the WPA cold-lunch pattern, which was of relatively recent introduction in the region. A series of new foods, such as store-bought cookies, Vienna sausage, bologna, pork and beans, and soft drinks had become popular since they were easy to purchase and carry in lunch boxes. These foods were regarded with colorless, neutral attitudes. They were not even considered as integral parts of the diet, and were rarely mentioned unless the investigator specifically requested cold-lunch menus. Since WPA was a low-status occupation, one might expect the cold lunch to acquire negative prestige. This did not seem to be the case, however, and may have been a result of the recent introduction of WPA. It might also have been the function of the colorless, beaten attitude of most WPAers—they seemed to have reached a point of insensitiveness in regard to many values.

It will be noted that many of these neutral WPA lunch foods represent high-prestige urbanisms to the riverbank people.

Another neutral food area was found in the large, relatively stable tenant families, where the basic farm diet plus urbanisms represented an achieved goal. Food in general was not subject to prestige valuation in these families, and the neutral category was correspondingly larger.

It might be concluded that the more insecure or status-conscious a family or individual is, the smaller will be the neutrally-valued food area. It should be emphasized that neutral values are not necessarily confined to the top, or tenant level, but appear also in special cases in the lower groups.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that diet is involved in Bottoms social organization, and more particularly, in that feature of it concerned with so-

cial mobility. This should function as an instrument for dietary change in the lower status positions, inasmuch as they desire foods occurring in the upper levels. Actually the rate of change is very slow, and is checked by the basic economic deprivation. Since it is virtually impossible for a non-tenant to secure a tenancy, these people lack the land necessary for gardens and farming. Without a farm, they lack the money for store foods and livestock.

Secondly, food is more important as a symbol than as nutriment—Bottoms people value food for social reasons more than for dietary reasons. Dietary change in the Bottoms is also inhibited by a series of powerful traditionalizing factors: lack of interest in recipes and menus, little inventiveness on dishes and recipes, few contacts between families, and particularly, between women, and in general, no interchange of food ideas. It is traditional for a riverbank person to use food as a symbol of his desire to rise in the local rank order, but this does not mean that he will ever so rise. Sharecroppers do make a partially-successful effort to match their diet to the tenant type, because they usually have a small piece of land for a garden. The tremendous labor required of a 'cropper, however, keeps him away from home and garden, and consequently the garden is rarely a complete success. Moreover, the tenant gardens are located on the finest soil in the area; non-tenant gardens on the sun-baked back fields or sandy riverbank.

The symbolic interest in food operates largely as a mode for relieving tension, since it allows non-tenants to talk about the desire for change without actually striving to change the diet. Most of the high-prestige foods are beyond the means of the non-tenants, since they have neither the cash for store foods nor the land and time for a large garden. Secondly, although they talk about having a large garden, and envy the tenant gardens, non-tenants will frequently fail to plant even a small garden, though they may have the time and land.⁸ Fundamentally they are not interested in food as nutriment, and are content to get along

on a very limited diet, even though they will "desire" gardens in a symbolic way. Factors leading toward modification are thus held in balance by factors of traditionalization.⁹

Despite the fact that dietary change through food prestiges is counteracted by inner cultural conditions, prestiges do provide an opening wedge for changes brought from the outside. The growing prestige of urbanisms, brought about by the urban penetration of the tenant diet, furnishes an opportunity for introducing other urban foods of high vitamin content. Farm advisors and county nutritional experts could manipulate their appeal in such a manner as to "sell" dietary innovations as farm-prestige foods to the non-tenant families. From a wider viewpoint, we might generalize that in any rural community where there is conspicuous economic inequality, caused by the deprivation of one or more groups of land, food will tend to acquire prestige values which can be used for the manipulation of diet.

In accordance with the original theoretical statements in this paper, it can be seen that Bottoms diet lacks the highly ramified character of food in the ritual and social organizations of primitive societies. At the same time, however, Bottoms food has a symbolic value within the social organization that transcends the relatively superficial, secularized value of food in the urban milieu. The Bottoms would seem to stand somewhere between the two extremes—folk and urban—in this matter. We might therefore call it a transitional folk-urban culture, at least from the dietary standpoint. In these smaller groups, food is one of the most important symbolic expressions of social forms; it can be utilized most fruitfully in the Bottoms and we venture to predict, in other rural societies with Bottoms-type organization, as an indicator of basic social structure.

⁸The tendency toward equilibrium in these processes is the key to an understanding of this changing culture. In all phases of the culture, traditional folk-type (sacred) elements either resist or accommodate to the newer (secular) alternatives. The process of "urbanization" can be viewed as the adjustment and rationalization of folk-type values and social forms to economic change and materialistic values. (Cf. H. Passin & J. W. Bennett, "Changing Agricultural Magic in Southern Illinois," *Social Forces*, forthcoming).

⁹Generally speaking, this does not include the sharecroppers, who do plant gardens.

JAZZ AND ITS FORERUNNERS AS AN EXAMPLE OF ACCULTURATION*

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AN INTERESTING illustration of R. E. Park's thesis that continued contact between two groups leads to eventual assimilation, is to be found in the development of jazz, which reflects the increasing contact between Negroes and whites in the United States. With this contact one characteristic after another of Negro music has been gradually adopted by popular white music. First, a stereotype of Negro music which had little relation to the real thing was developed in the coon song of the minstrel show; then the simpler aspects of Negro musical rhythm were taken over in ragtime, followed by the diffusion of Negro harmonies to produce the blues. Finally, as a result of more intimate contact, most of the features of Negro music were taken over through the medium of hot jazz, which in turn has now been modified by white music.

I. AMERICAN NEGRO MUSIC

Too little is known about African and early American white music to be able to determine the relative influence of each upon the development of American Negro music. At any rate, the introduction of the Negro to the Americas produced a musical fusion, of which the best early description is the following:

The voices of the colored people have a peculiar quality that nothing can imitate; and the intonations and delicate variations of even one singer cannot be reproduced on paper. . . . There is no singing in *parts*, as we understand it, and yet no two appear to be singing the same thing—the leading singer starts the words of each verse, often improvising, and the others, who “base” him, as it is called, strike in with the refrain, or even join in the solo when the words are familiar. When the “base” begins, the

leader often stops, leaving the rest of the words to be guessed at, or it may be they are taken up by one of the other singers. And the “basers” themselves seem to follow their own whims, beginning when they please and leaving off when they please, striking an octave above or below (in case they have pitched the tune too high), or hitting some other note that chords, so as to produce the effect of a marvellous complication and variety and yet with the most perfect time and rarely with any discord.¹

This American Negro music has influenced white American popular music, and it is the purpose of the present paper to sketch that influence.

II. COON SONGS, 1830-1890²

In the period of the coon song the majority of white people had little or no contact with Negroes, so that a stereotype of Negro music developed which had scant relation to the real thing.

During the period of slavery, there were musically gifted Negroes on many plantations.

Every plantation had its talented band that could crack Negro jokes, and sing and dance to the accompaniment of the banjo and the bones—the bones being the actual ribs of a sheep or some other small animal, cut the proper length and scraped clean and bleached in the sun. When the wealthy plantation-owner wished to entertain and amuse his guests, he needed only to call for his troupe of black minstrels. There is a record of at least one of these bands that became semi-professional and travelled round from plantation to plantation giving performances.³

¹ W. F. Allen, *et al.*, *Slave Songs of the United States* (New York 1867), pp. iv-v.

² On minstrel music, *vide* D. Paskman & S. Spaeth, “Gentlemen, Be Seated!,” New York, 1928; C. Wittke, *Tambo and Bones*, Durham, N.C., 1930.

³ J. W. Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York, 1930), p. 87; *cf.* Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

* The first and last paragraphs constitute a good summary. [Ed.]

These Negroes were heard by white entertainers who imitated them; there is a record of a white impersonator of Negroes in New York City as early as 1769.⁴ But the founder of the classical minstrel tradition was Thomas D. Rice, who in 1830, as "Jim Crow," imitated the mannerisms, costume, song, and dance of a Negro whom he came across while one day strolling along the river front of Cincinnati.⁵ At first actual Negro music and songs were used, but with the development of the minstrel show by white men who had no first-hand acquaintance with Negro life and music a stereotype was established, according to which the Negro was predominantly interested in fried chicken, watermelon, dice, cutting people with a razor, and singing sentimental songs about the South.⁶ The songs of Stephen Foster represent the best of this tradition. When Negroes finally began to participate in minstrel shows, the stereotypes were so fixed that they imitated their white impersonators and did not go back to the authentic Negro traditions. The only real Negro characteristic of minstrel music was intermittent syncopation. To the banjo, castanet bones, and the jawbone of a calf or mule struck with a shin bone, a violin and tambourine would usually be added from the collection of European instruments.⁷

III. RAGTIME, 1891-1914

The first distinctive characteristic taken over by the whites from Negro music was its syncopated rhythm; it had been used intermittently in minstrel music, but the regular use of the simpler syncopations produced ragtime.

With the advent of Negro entertainers on Broadway who freed themselves from the conventional trammels of the minstrel show, white people for the first time had an adequate opportunity to discover the nature of Negro music. The startling effects of Negro musical rhythm first came to the attention

of the white world through Negro musical comedies produced in the early 1890's. The first of these was the *Creole Show*, in which the minstrel tradition was broken by a group of colored ex-minstrels, chorus, and dance team. Negro rhythms thus introduced were then taken up by Tin Pan Alley and swept the country. Ragtime reached its peak in 1910.

The ragtime era had its orchestral arrangers, but interest was so intensely concentrated upon purely rhythmical effects, and so orthodox was the constitution of the ragtime band, that little progress was made in tone-color, contrapuntal humor and the other devices characteristic of jazz.

The ragtime band, indeed, especially as it was known to the whites of the middle Nineties, was the same band that played in the orthodox ball rooms of the day.⁸

BLUES, 1914-1917⁹

The second characteristic of American Negro music to be adopted by whites was its harmonies; in particular, the modified pentatonic scale, especially the interpolated minor third and the flatted seventh. This was done in the age of the blues.

Blues were popular among the Negroes of the lower Mississippi River, but remained a local phenomenon until a Negro appeared who had received some academic musical training and could write down the music; this was W. C. Handy, the composer of *St. Louis Blues*. The incident which brought the blues to the attention of whites is characteristic.

In 1909 the fight for the Memphis mayoralty was three cornered, the corners being Messrs. Williams, Talbert, and E. H. Crump. There were also three leading Negro bands: Eckford's, Bynum's, and Handy's. As a matter of course the services of these three were engaged for the duration to demonstrate to the public the executive ability of their respective employers; through Jim Mucabhy, a ward leader before whose saloon the Handy forces had often serenaded, his candidate turned out to be Mr. Crump. . . . His band opened fire at the corner

⁴ Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-209; also Paskman & Spaeth, *op. cit.*

⁷ I. Goldberg, *Tin Pan Alley* (New York, 1930), p. 53; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 142.

⁸ Goldberg, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁹ On the blues, *vide* W. C. Handy & A. Niles, *Blues*, New York, 1926.

of Main and Madison with a piece [in the blues style] (named, of course, "Mr. Crump"), of such vivacity that it caused dancing in the streets and an outbreak of public whistling. With such a song, and with none like it forthcoming from Eckford's or Bynum's, the popular choice (Crump and Handy) was a foregone conclusion; the one became the mayor and the other locally famous. . . . In 1912 he [i.e., Handy] . . . brought out a first edition of a thousand copies [of the song], wordless and renamed *Memphis Blues*.¹⁰

V. JAZZ, 1917¹¹

At the turn of the century an urban music, hot jazz, developed among the Negroes of New Orleans. This music was played in the brothels and saloons of the red light district frequented by whites. This intimate contact—both figurative and literal—between Negroes and whites was the first opportunity for the latter to come into contact with the full flavor of Negro music on a large scale.

In New Orleans after the Civil War, Negroes began to use more and more the usual wind and string instruments of the whites. . . . Soon Negro groups, having learned to play by ear, were engaged to play for dances and by 1880 were found on some of the packets on the Mississippi River. On the boats the Negroes worked as porters, barbers, and waiters during the day and entertained the passengers with music at night.¹²

Because of the social isolation of Negroes in the United States, they had little or no opportunity to learn much about West European music or instrumental technique. As Louis Armstrong says:

Not knowing much classical music, and not many of them having proper education in reading music of any kind, they just went ahead and made up their own music. Before long, and without really knowing it themselves, they had

created a brand new music, they created swing. They made a music for themselves which truly expressed what they felt. They were composers and players, all in one, and they composed as they played and held what they had done only in their musical memory. . . . Now I think that there are two kinds of men chiefly who can break loose [from tradition] like that. One is the kind of man who learns everything about his art and what has been done before him so he can go beyond it, and the other is the kind who doesn't know anything about it—who is just plain ignorant, but has a great deal of feeling he's got to express in some way, and has to find that way for himself. Swing came mostly from the last kind of men. That is why, during those early years, people noticed two things about it, that it was very strong and vital, and also that it was crude and not "finished."¹³

Boys learned to play an instrument, not by taking lessons, but by practicing on it until they achieved sufficient technical dexterity to express what they wanted to say. Thus Bunk Johnson says of his boyhood.

Now me and my old cornet, when my mother got it, night and day I puffed on it and when I did get the slite of it, Oh boy, I really went.¹⁴

After a boy had a certain amount of technique at his command, he tried to get lessons from his favorite instrumentalist so as to improve his playing. For example, Armstrong states,

I was constantly hanging around after "King" Oliver. I looked towards him as though he were some kind of a god, or something similar. Between the years of 1914 . . . and 1917, I never missed hearing him play his music. He was my inspiration. . . . He took such a liking to me he started giving me lessons and answered anything I wanted to know. He taught me the modern way of phrasing on the cornet and trumpet.¹⁵

Because of social isolation, American Negro urban instrumental music did not adopt the white forms or technique, but rather developed as an instrumental version of the already existing Negro vocal music; the one with which the musicians were most familiar.

¹⁰ *Swing That Music* (New York, 1936), pp. 72-74.

¹¹ Ramsey & Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴ On the history of jazz, vide A. Niles, "Jazz," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (New York, 1929, 14th ed.), XII, pp. 982-84; C. E. Smith, "Jazz," *Symposium*, I (1930), pp. 502-17; R. Y. Giles, "Jazz Comes of Age," *Scholastic*, XXVII (1935), No. 5 pp. 7-8; C. E. Smith, "Swing," *New Republic*, XCIV (1938), pp. 39-41; P. E. Miller, *Down Beat's Yearbook of Swing*, Chicago, 1939; F. Ramsey & C. E. Smith, eds., *Jazzmen*, New York, 1939.

¹⁵ Ramsey and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Consequently, hot jazz has the following characteristics:¹⁶

1. Negro musicians employ their instruments differently from white musicians trained in the orthodox style.

(a) They use their own technique in playing, and particularly as a result of the use of vibratos, glissandos, and such mechanical tone modifiers as mutes and plungers, achieve new tonal effects with their instruments. Consequently when European musicians first heard jazz music, says Jim Europe, they "felt sure that my band had used special instruments. Indeed, some of them, after attending one of my rehearsals, did not believe what I had said until after they had examined the instruments used by my men."¹⁷

(b) They achieve a virtuosity which is unparalleled. The technical demands of hot jazz are greater than those of most Western music.

(c) They emphasize wind and percussion instruments in their bands, rather than the strings as in West European orchestras. A jazz band has two parts, a rhythmic section which produces rhythm and background harmonies, and a melodic section, which supplies the melodic designs. The rhythmic section consists of a piano, banjo or guitar, percussions, and strong bass or tuba. The melodic section consists of woodwinds, usually alto and tenor saxophones and clarinet, and brass, i.e., trumpets and trombones.

¹⁶ For technical analyses of jazz, *vide* G. Seldes, "Toujours jazz," *Dial*, LXXV (1923), pp. 151-66; V. Thomson, "Jazz" *American Mercury*, II (1924), pp. 465-67; D. Milhaud, "The jazz band and Negro music," *Living Age*, CCCXXIII (1924), pp. 169-73; D. Knowlton, "The anatomy of jazz," *Harper*, CLII (1925-26), pp. 578-85; E. Combe, "Jazz and guitar," *Living Age*, CCXXVIII (1926), pp. 326-30; G. Anthell, "Jazz is music," *Forum*, LXXX (1928), pp. 64-67, 957-58; G. W. Howgate, "Jazz," *Forum*, LXXX (1928), pp. 636-37; H. Panassié, *Le jazz hot*, Paris, 1934, trans. L. & E. Dowling, New York, 1936; R. Dickerson, "Hot music," *Harper*, CLXXII (1935-36), pp. 567-74; W. Sargeant, *Jazz, Hot and Hybrid*, New York, 1938; *idem*, "Jazz," *International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians* (New York, 1939), pp. 896-900; W. Hobson, *American Jazz Music*, New York, 1939.

¹⁷ *Literary Digest*, LVI (1919), Apr. 26, p. 28.

2. Negro musicians took over the old American Negro style of improvisation; in hot jazz "it's the originality that counts."¹⁸

The spirit of improvisation has been well expressed by Armstrong:

"I do know that a musician who plays in "sweet" orchestras must be like a writer who writes stories for some popular magazines. He has to follow along the same kind of line all the time, and write what he thinks the readers want just because they're used to it. That keeps him writing the same kind of thing year after year. But a real swing musician never does that. He just plays, feels as he goes, and swings as he feels."¹⁹

In large jazz bands collective improvisation is virtually impossible because of the difficulty of integrating more than a few instruments, and therefore arrangements are resorted to; however, an attempt is made to keep the arrangement as spontaneous in feeling as is compatible with the requirements of a large group of musicians.

There are two aspects of improvisation:

a. Improvisation usually occurs in the form of breaks and choruses. In breaks, the musician improvises during a pause between phrases; choruses are variations on a theme which may or may not be stated in its original form.

b. There are two types of improvisation, either solo improvisation against a rhythmic background, or collective improvisation to produce counterpoint.

The following are but a couple of examples of the jazz musician's dexterity in improvisation.

I once heard Count Basie and his band play *The Jersey Bounce* with a contrapuntal complexity beyond anything I have heard in Western classical music. Amazed, I had Basie play the piece every night for a week during his stay, but it was played in a relatively simple fashion, though differently each time. When I asked why his men didn't play it the way they had the first time, he replied, "I guess the boys were feeling good then."

¹⁸ King Oliver, quot. Ramsey & Smith, *op. cit.* p. 78.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

To illustrate a lecture on jazz I gave to my students Basie and some of his men came to play. I refused to tell them in advance what I expected of them, so that they would play impromptu. After each point in my lecture I merely turned to the musicians and said, "please play something illustrating this point." After about 15 seconds preliminary musical introduction, and without any conversation between the men they would go into a piece which exemplified the discussion.

3. Old American Negro styles of harmony and counterpoint have been taken over.

4. The syncopation common in the old songs has been adopted. Beside the displacement of accent (through accenting the off-beat) which had been used previously in ragtime, jazz uses polyrhythm (i.e., superimposed accent different from the fundamental beat). Modifications of the original rhythm result in a swinging quality which is typical of hot jazz.

5. Jazz developed in the dives and brothels of New Orleans; jazz lyrics were therefore sophisticated and urban in character, rather than of the folk quality found in Negro spirituals and sinful songs from rural areas. Most often they consisted of a cynical treatment of sex; the title of a famous song by Tony Jackson, the featured pianist and entertainer at one of the largest brothels in New Orleans at the turn of the century, is typical: *I've Got Elgin Movements in My Hips with a Twenty Year Guarantee*.

Hot jazz became known to white musicians who played in the red light district of New Orleans, and they began to imitate the Negro music as best they could. However, because the Negro and white musical traditions were so dissimilar, the latter's version

of jazz was different from the real thing.²⁰ It was a band of white musicians who first acquainted the whole United States with jazz, for the Original Dixieland Band left New Orleans to play first in Chicago from 1914 to 1916, and then in New York during the rest of 1916. While in the latter city they made some phonograph recordings which started the jazz craze.

With the migration of Negroes to the North in 1917, many jazz players left New Orleans, and in the period from 1918 to 1929 Chicago was the center for the development of jazz. White musicians such as Bix Beiderbecke and Muggsy Spanier heard Negro players in various speakeasies, and consciously attempted to learn their techniques; as a result they were called "white niggers." But many of these white musicians had received formal training in their instruments, and were acquainted with orthodox musical theory; they therefore modified hot jazz to include these elements. As Armstrong says,

It is very true that the swing music we have today is far more refined and subtle and more highly developed as an art because the swing men who learned to read and understand classical music have brought classical influences into it. I think that may be said to be the real difference between the original New Orleans "jazz" and the swing music of today.²¹

However, even in the twenties hot jazz remained unknown to the wider white groups; an index of the degree of isolation of hot jazz musicians, and the difference between their music and that of orthodox players, is to be found in the elaborate special vocabulary which they developed.²²

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

²¹ "All the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's interpretations were handled the same way: there were no solos, except for a few short breaks, and the musicians simply played together first the verse and then the chorus of the different pieces, with little subtlety, always in the same key. It was a continuous collective improvisation of only relative interest, for the musicians either did not elaborate very much, or else they always elaborated on the same phrase. Even when one of the performers would play solo for a few short breaks, he would often play the same break over and over." Panassié, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²² "There are more than four hundred words used among swing musicians that no one else would understand. They have a language of their own, and I don't think anything could show better how closely they have worked together and how much they feel that they are apart from 'regular' musicians and have a world of their own that they believe in and that most people have not understood." Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; vide C. L. Cons, "The jargon of jazz," *American Mercury*, XXXVIII (1936), no. 149, p. x; H. B. Webb, "The slang of jazz," *American Speech*, XII (1937), pp. 170-84; "Swing notes," *ibid.*, XIII (1938), p. 158; Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-76.

About 1930 the jazz center shifted to New York, and hot jazz fully assimilated both Negro and white influences. Typical of the present trend are the compositions and style of playing of Duke Ellington and his band, concerning which has been said, "Ellington's works are no more examples of African folk song than James Weldon Johnson's poems are examples of the Dahomy dialect; they both represent the application of the negro temperament to an alien tradition and an acquired language."²³

So far only hot jazz has been considered. However, the adaptation of jazz to white tastes has also occurred. Early in the history of jazz, white musicians appeared who took over some of the elements of hot jazz—its rhythms and harmonies in particular—and modified them to fit Western musical theory and instrumental techniques. This gave birth to straight or sweet jazz, first developed by

Art Hickman and his St. Francis Hotel Orchestra of San Francisco, in 1914; Paul Whiteman is perhaps its best known exponent, and his "symphonic jazz" is characteristic of this type of music.

Intermediate between hot and sweet jazz is Benny Goodman, for example, and in his orchestra's rendition of works by Raymond Scott such as *Powerhouse*, the fugue *Dodging a Divorcee*, or *In an Eighteenth Century Drawing Room* (after a Mozart minuet), are to be found illustrations of a type of music that begins to shade into Western European orchestral compositions influenced by the American Negro musical idiom.

To sum up: In the nineteenth century white musicians took over a few characteristics of Negro music which they adapted to the tastes of the whites, but in the post-World War I period, not only had whites developed an understanding of Negro popular music which they adopted, but conversely, the Negro idiom has been affected by West European music through the influence of white jazz musicians.

²³ C. Lambert, *Music Ho!* (London, 1937, 2nd ed.), p. 203; for an interesting criticism of Ellington, *vide ibid.*, pp. 213-15.

OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



REPORT ON NOMINATIONS AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1944

Following is the report on the Society's second election by mail. Professor Davie and his Committee (membership of which was announced in the February issue of the *Review*) are to be congratulated on the able and efficient manner in which they carried on their work. The Society is most grateful for the part each Committee member played and also to the tellers, J. L. Hypes and Joseph Van Vleck, Jr., for their services.

The proportion of the Society's members who took part in this second mail election is greater than the proportion of members who took part when elections were held at the Annual Meetings. On the other hand, only 53% of the persons eligible to vote this year returned ballots. Last year it was 57%.

I earnestly hope that in future elections a greater percentage of the members will avail themselves of their opportunity to vote and thus take a more active part in the Society's affairs.

June 19, 1943

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS *To the President of the American Sociological Society:*

The Committee on Nominations began its activities early in the year and exercised great care to secure a representative expression of opinion. The Committee members, who were most cooperative and prompt, informally canvassed the views of their colleagues in the various branches of Sociology in their respective regions, and submitted suggestions for nominees for the various offices. About one hundred persons were named. To simplify the procedure, the Committee balloted on just those persons named for office three or more times or for the same office twice, thirty-eight in number. It was necessary to take an additional ballot for the office of President before the final slate was prepared. This was certified to the Secretary of the Society and the official ballot was mailed to the members on May 15, along with brief biographical notes on each of the nominees prepared by the Secretary from data provided by them. The ballot contained the following list of nominees:

For President:

Rupert B. Vance
J. O. Hertzler

For First Vice-President:

Read Bain
Willard Waller

For Second Vice-President:

C. E. Gehlke
Carl C. Taylor

For Executive Committee:

Dorothy S. Thomas
Samuel A. Stouffer
Leonard S. Cottrell
Ernest R. Mowrer

For Assistant Editors:

James A. Quinn
Calvin F. Schmid
Robert K. Merton
Floyd N. House

The ballots were returned to my office. On June 17 the mailing envelopes on which each member was to sign his name (two forgot, and their votes were invalidated) were checked against the list of eligible voters, the sealed manila envelopes containing the ballots were removed, the mailing envelopes destroyed, and the completely anonymous ballots counted. A total of 493 eligible ballots was received, which is an excellent return in view of the fact that many members are away from their academic haunts in the service of the Government or in the armed forces. J. L. Hypes, of the University of Connecticut, and Joseph Van Vleck, Jr., of Hartford Theological Seminary, kindly and efficiently served as tellers. The following persons received the largest number of votes, in what to the Committee at least was a gratifyingly close election:

For President:

Rupert B. Vance

For First Vice-President:

Read Bain

For *Second Vice-President*:

Carl C. Taylor

For *Executive Committee*:

Dorothy S. Thomas

Leonard S. Cottrell

For *Assistant Editors*:

Floyd N. House

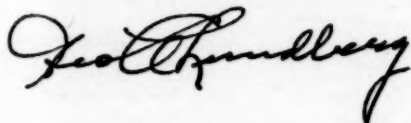
Calvin F. Schmid

While many members exercised their prerogative by writing in their own nominations for various offices, no person's name was written in for a particular office "by one tenth of those returning ballots, and in no case by less than twenty-five persons," which is required by the Constitution in order to be considered as nominated for that office. Hence, a second ballot is not called for, and the results of the election of officers for 1944 as given above are final.

Respectfully submitted,

MAURICE R. DAVIE, *Chairman*

In accordance with the provision of the Society's By-Laws, I am transmitting this report to the membership of the Society. The persons listed as receiving the largest number of votes for the positions are the Officers of the Society for 1944.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG, *President*


NOTICE TO AUTHORS

Due to conditions caused by the war, it will be impossible for the publishers of the *Review* to mail reprints of articles as promptly as formerly. We are sure that authors will understand the reason for the delay. All orders will continue to be filled as promptly as possible.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

There are frequent calls on the Secretary's office for copies of the Society's *Papers and Pro-*

ceedings which are now out of stock. Will any members having copies of the *Proceedings*, Volumes I-IX, XI-XIV, and XVI-XVIII, notify the Secretary's office?

COMMITTEE NOTES

The following three members have been appointed by President Lundberg to serve as the Society's 1943 Budget and Finance Committee: Frank H. Hankins, Chairman; Read Bain and Carl C. Taylor.

President Lundberg has appointed the following members to serve as the Committee on Honorary Members: T. Lynn Smith, Chairman; E. Franklin Frazier, and Carl C. Taylor.

AUDIT REPORT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR

JULY 15, 1942 TO JUNE 14, 1943

July 17, 1943

To the Executive Committee of the
American Sociological Society

We have examined the accounts supporting the Balance Sheet of the American Sociological Society as of June 14, 1943, and the Statement of Income and Expense for the Fiscal year ended June 14, 1943. In connection therewith, we reviewed the accounting procedures of the Society, and, without making a detailed audit of the transactions, have examined or tested accounting records and other supporting evidence by methods and to the extent we deemed appropriate.

Accounts receivable were not confirmed by correspondence with the debtors, nor were the inventories of publications physically counted. Quantities were taken from available memoranda and valuation made at estimated costs previously used.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense present fairly the position of American Sociological Society at June 14, 1943, and the results of its operations for the fiscal year ended June 14, 1943.

BENJAMIN REGARDIE

Certified Public Accountant

BALANCE SHEET, JUNE 14, 1943

*Assets**Current Assets:*

Cash on Hand	\$	10.00	
Cash on Deposit—Citizens Bank of Riverdale		5,102.18	\$ 5,112.18
Accounts Receivable	\$	221.35	
Accrued Interest Receivable		12.00	233.35

Inventories (at values estimated by Treasurer):

American Sociological Review:

10,049 copies at \$.25	\$ 2,512.25	
1 copy at \$1.50	1.50	\$ 2,513.75

Proceedings

1,773 copies at \$.50	\$ 886.50	
1 copy at \$2.50	2.50	889.00

TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS \$ 8,748.28

Investments (at cost):

Bonds:

Hyde Park Baptist Church of Chicago, 6%, 1946	\$ 600.00	
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Stocks:

American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Common, 3 shares	296.00	
U. S. Steel Corporation, 7% Cumulative Preferred, 5 shares...	532.41	
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Common, 12 shares	533.56	
West Penn Electric Company, 7% Cumulative Preferred, 2 shares	185.18	2,147.15

Deferred Charges:

Prepaid Expenses		16.32
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TOTAL \$10,911.75

*Liabilities**Liabilities:*

Accounts Payable:

Cost of Printing and Mailing June, 1943, <i>Review</i> \$	725.83	
Magazine Subscriptions	20.75	\$ 746.58

Accrued Victory Tax	2.76	\$ 749.34
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Deferred Credits

Deferred Income:

Dues—1943:

Single	\$ 2,305.50	
Student	124.50	
Joint	73.50	
Sustaining	35.00	
Life Memberships	1,825.00	\$ 4,363.50

Subscriptions:

Library—1943	\$ 670.17	
Library—1944	72.50	
Student—1943	7.91	
Student—1944	9.00	
General—1943	101.51	
General—1944	5.66	866.75

Principal:

*Balance, June 14, 1942	\$ 3,672.71	
Add: Excess of Income over Expense for the Fiscal year ended June 14, 1943		1,259.45

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

579

Balance, June 14, 1943	4,932.16
TOTAL	\$10,911.75

NOTE: Subject to comments of report.

*After giving effect to Deferred Income of \$3,453.52 applicable to fiscal year ended June 14, 1942.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 14, 1943

	INCOME	Total	Allocation Society	Review
Dues:				
Single	\$5,067.50	\$1,689.16	\$3,378.34
Student	367.00	122.33	244.67
Joint	161.00	69.00	92.00
Sustaining	70.00	28.00	42.00
TOTAL	\$5,665.50	\$1,908.49	\$3,757.01
Subscriptions to <i>Review</i>				
Library	\$1,476.04		\$1,476.04
Student	30.29		30.29
General	201.61		201.61
TOTAL	\$1,707.94		\$1,707.94
Sale of Publications				
<i>Review</i>	\$ 163.87		\$ 163.87
<i>Proceedings</i> and Other Pamphlets	78.95	\$ 78.95	
TOTAL	\$ 242.82	\$ 78.95	\$ 163.87
Advertising in <i>Review</i>	\$ 819.53		\$ 819.53
Income from Investments	118.00	\$ 118.00	
Royalties	34.47		34.47
Net Increase in Inventory of Publications	301.25	—16.50	317.75
Miscellaneous Income	10.07	3.85	6.22
TOTAL INCOME	\$8,899.58	\$2,092.79	\$6,806.79
EXPENSE				
Clerical Aid to Secretary and Managing Editor	\$ 817.46	\$ 408.73	\$ 408.73
Cost of Printing and Mailing <i>Review</i>	4,732.22		4,732.22
<i>Proceedings</i> and <i>Review</i> Purchases	9.50	2.50	7.00
Discounts Allowed on Publications	140.18		140.18
Printing and Stationery	250.31	125.15	125.16
Postage, Telephone, Telegraph, and Express	217.74	108.87	108.87
Other Office Expense	176.31	88.16	88.15
Bank Charges	1.42	1.42	
Editor's Office Expense	502.51		502.51
Book Review, Editor's Office Expense	345.67		345.67
Dues and Subscriptions	35.00	35.00	
Election of Officers	121.06	121.06	
Public Relations Committee	46.54	46.54	
Membership Committee	8.61	8.61	

Program Committee	2.12	2.12	
Census of Research	74.24	74.24	
Taxes	54.24	13.56	40.68
Auditing	100.00	50.00	50.00
Bad Debts	5.00	—	5.00
TOTAL EXPENSE	\$7,640.13	\$1,085.96	\$6,554.17
Excess of Income over Expense	\$1,259.45	\$1,006.83	\$ 252.62

STATEMENT BY THE TREASURER
TO ACCOMPANY THE AUDITOR'S REPORT

The Auditor's report presented above is not readily comparable with the report for the year ending June 1942, which was published in the *Review* in February 1943. In large part this is due to a change in the procedure for dealing with the questions which grow out of the fact that our fiscal year ends June 14, but our operating year ends December 31. Under the new procedure, at the end of the fiscal year only one half of the current year's dues are treated as Current Income; the other half are treated as Deferred Income, which will not appear as Current Income until the following fiscal year. In the Balance Sheet all money actually received and on hand is carried under Assets and a corresponding Liability is set up under the heading, "Deferred Income." The purpose of this accounting practice can be most clearly shown in connection with subscriptions. At the time of accepting a subscription for the *Review*, the Society assumes an obligation to send six copies of the *Review*. If at any time during the year the Society should have to suspend the publication of the *Review*, it would presumably be obligated to make a proportionate refund to the subscriber. Consequently, a true picture of the fiscal situation should show those obligations as an offset to cash on hand. However, as the year goes on and this obligation is met, the amount so considered becomes "Current Income."

Allocating dues income to that part of the fiscal year to which it properly applies makes a considerable difference in the amounts shown. If the Single Dues item in Income had been treated in this audit report on the same basis as in the preceding audit report, as published on Page 78 of the February *Review*, it would amount to \$7,373.00, which would be comparable to the item of \$7,483.00 for the preceding fiscal year.

In the Balance Sheet the term "Principal" appears instead of the word "Surplus," used

previously. The term "Surplus" is really not applicable to a Society like the American Sociological Society. Under the heading, "Principal," the Balance shown as of June 14, 1942, contains an adjustment in the amount of \$3,453.52 from the amount shown as Surplus on June 14, 1942, in the statement published previously. This adjustment is to provide a clearer presentation of the status of our funds inasmuch as the liability on account of the second half of the calendar year should not be carried as Surplus. The change does not affect the totals. It represents simply a difference in the classification of different items.

It may be useful to compare the cash position at the end of the fiscal year with that of a year previously. The amount of cash on hand and in the bank increased by \$768.30. The Accounts Receivable this year were nearly the same as last, and the Accounts Payable were somewhat less. The actual cash collection of dues during the past fiscal year, ending June 14, 1943, amounted to \$5,552.00, a reduction of \$341.00 below the \$5,893.00 for the preceding year. It should, however, be noted that we are carrying free memberships for thirty-one Service-men. The amount received in subscriptions to the *Review* and the amount received from advertising during the past year were almost the same as during the preceding year. Income from Investments has declined somewhat, due in part to a change from 6% to 4% in the yield of the bonds which the Society holds.

The expenditures for the past year include one new item, namely, Personal Property Taxes, which the Society is required to pay in the District of Columbia. When the current steps toward incorporation of the Society are completed, this item will no longer be necessary.

At the end of the first half of the calendar year, 1943, both the "Current Income" and "Expenditures" of the Society were almost exactly one half of the amounts called for in the 1943 Budget.

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1943

The symbols before the names indicate special classes of members, as * Life Members, ** Emeritus Members, † Sustaining Members, ‡ Honorary Members, § Members joining in 1943, ¶ Members in the Armed Forces.

The letters after the names indicate the interests reported by each member, as (a) General and Historical Sociology, (b) Social Psychology, (c) Methods of Research, (d) Social Biology, (e) Educational Sociology, (f) Statistical Sociology, (g) Rural Sociology, (h) Community Study, (i) Sociology and Social Work, (j) Teaching of Social Sciences, (k) The Family, (l) Sociology of Religion, (m) Sociology and Psychiatry, (n) Section on Criminology, (o) Political Sociology, (p) Human Ecology. Capital letters indicate leading interests.

CHAPTER MEMBERS—REGIONAL AND SPECIALIZED GROUPS

- No. 1. University of Utah Sociological Society, Salt Lake City, Utah
 No. 2. Sociology Club of the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
 No. 3. Ohio Valley Sociological Society, 13420 Forest Hill, Cleveland, Ohio
 No. 4. District of Columbia Sociological Society, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.
 No. 5. Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 No. 6. Southern Sociological Society, Florida State College, Tallahassee, Fla.
 No. 7. Eastern Sociological Society, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 No. 8. Mid-West Sociological Society, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
 No. 9. Pacific Sociological Society, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
 No. 10. Rural Sociological Society, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
 No. 11. Southwestern Sociological Society, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
- Abel, Theodore F., Palisades, N.Y.
 Abernethy, George L., U. of S.Dak., Vermillion, S.Dak., a g l O
 Abram, Robert C., 110 N. Glenwood Ave., Columbia, Mo.
 Abrams, Ray H., 408 S. Lansdowne Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
 §Abramson, Edward, Pa. State College, State College, Pa.
 §Aginsky, Bernard W., 8 West 13th St., New York, N.Y.
 §Aginsky, Ethel G., 8 W. 13th St., New York, N.Y., A b c g h j k m
 Akers, Elmer, 1624 Alpha St., Lansing, Mich., b c k N
 Alapas, Peter, 316 South Ave., Wilkinsburg, Pa., c h i N p
 Albig, J. W., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., a b c
 Alexander, Frank D., 1372 Greenland Dr., Atlanta, Ga., f g h k n
 Allen, Leroy, 1414 E. Fourth Ave., Winfield, Kan.
 Allport, Floyd H., 485 Buckingham Ave., Syracuse, N.Y., a b c f
 Alpert, Harry, 1337 Talbert Ter., S.E., Washington, D.C., A b c h j p
 Amann, Dorothy, So. Methodist Univ., Dallas, Texas
 Anderson, C. Arnold, Iowa State Col., Ames, Iowa, a b G k
 Anderson, Odin W., 1214½ Washtenaw, Ann Arbor, Mich., a c i
 Anderson, Viola, 52 Anderson Av., Port Richmond, S. I., N.Y., a b d h j k m N
 Anderson, W. A., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y., a c f g p
 Andrews, Henry Lucian, Box 797, University, Ala., a c g H j p
 ¶Angell, Robert Cooley, 1007 Berkshire Rd., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 ¶Apovian, Harry S., 508 67th St., West New York, N.J., A k N p
 Arensberg, Conrad M., Brooklyn Col., Brooklyn, N.Y., b c g h m p
 Argow, Claire A., 695 Sunset Rd., Teaneck, N.J., b h i j N
 Argow, Walter Webster, 695 Sunset Rd., Teaneck, N.J., b h i m n
 §Armbruster, Gordon H., State Col. of Wash., Pullman, Wash.
 *Armstrong, Clairette P., 137 East 22nd St., New York, N.Y., b m n
 *Armstrong, Donald, Brigadier General, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md.
 Armstrong, Hazel, Ind. State Teachers Col., Terre Haute, Ind.
 Arrington, Ruth E., R.F.D. No. 1, Manassas, Va., b c f m
 §Asadorian, A. A., R.I. State Col., Kingston, R.I.
 Ashby, Richard, 1013 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Atwood, J. Howell, Knox Col., Galesburg, Ill.
 Austin, Anne L., 2063 Adelbert Rd., Cleveland, Ohio, a b c e h j k l
 Baber, Ray E., Pomona Col., Claremont, Calif.
 Bahar, Mathilde, 1316 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., a b c g
 Bailey, Joseph C., 416 West 118th St., New York, N.Y., a g h i j
 Bailie, Helena I. T., 22 DeWolf St., Cambridge, Mass., B g k
 Bain, Read, 116 Tallawanda Rd., Oxford, Ohio, A b c k o
 Baker, O. E., Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.

- Ballard, Lloyd Vernor, 917 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis., a i k l n
- Bane, Lita, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., Urbana, Ill.
- Bankert, Zetta E., Brookings, S.Dak., g h j
- Barclay, Emma, 78 Duke St., Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
- Barker, Gordon H., 955 College Ave., Boulder, Colo.
- Barnes, C. Rankin, 408 Nutmeg St., San Diego, Calif., i K l
- Barnes, Mary Edna, Brooklyn Col., Brooklyn, N.Y.,
- Barnett, James H., Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., a b k n
- Barrett, Patricia, Maryville Col., St. Louis, Mo., A k l
- †Bartlett, Harriett M., 989 Memorial Dr., Cambridge, Mass., b c I m
- Bartlett, Laile Eubank, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, Wash., A n p
- §Bartlett, Harry W., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., b c H k m
- §Bassett, Raymond E., 81 South St., Gorham, Maine, b C f
- Beal, Owen F., Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, a c f h k
- Beard, Belle Boone, Sweet Briar Col., Sweet Briar, Va., a b i j
- Becker, Howard, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., A b C k
- §Bee, Lawrence S., Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., b c g h k m
- Beebe, Gilbert W., 3440 38th St., N.W., Washington 16, D.C., c d f k
- Beeley, Arthur L., Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Bellamy, Raymond, State Col. for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.
- †Beller, William C., 18 West 85th St., New York, N.Y., A b l
- †Benes, Eduard, 8 Grosvenor Square, London, England
- Benson, Oscar Algot, 838 Hyde Hyde Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
- Benz, Margaret Gilbert, 237 Greene St., New York, N.Y., h i K
- Berkman, Paul L., 3417 A St., N.E., Washington, D.C., a b f o
- †Berkowitz, Leonard M., 101 Avenue B., New York, N.Y., c f H o
- §Bernert, Eleanor H., U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C., C f g p
- Bernheimer, Charles S., 98 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y., H I
- Bernstein, Adaline, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Berry, Brewton, 138 E. Russell St., Orangeburg, S.C.
- Best, Harry, Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky., a i n o
- Beth, Marianne W., 5707 Woodlawn, Chicago, Ill.
- Bettman, Alfred, 1514 First Nat'l Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio
- Bickham, Martin Hayes, 429 Ninth St., Wilmette, Ill., a l
- Bicknell, Marguerite E., Lemoyne Col., Memphis, Tenn.
- Bierstedt, Robert, Bard Col., Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y., A
- Binder, Rudolph M., Bucks County, Newtown, Pa.
- Bishop, Dorothy G., Mass. Memorial Hosp., Boston, Mass.
- Bittner, W. S., R. D. No. 3, Bloomington, Ind.
- Bizzell, W. B., Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
- §Black, Dorothy Lee, Delta Council, Stoneville, Miss.
- Blackwell, Gordon W., 8512 Hempstead Ave., Bethesda, Md., E g h
- Blaine, Mrs. Emmons, 101 East Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
- Bloch, Herbert A., St. Lawrence Univ., Canton, N.Y., A b c f i j k m n o
- Bloom, Leonard, Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Blumenthal, Albert, 1151½ West 64th St., Los Angeles 44, Calif.
- Blumer, Herbert, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Bodenhauer, Walter B., Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- Bogardus, Emory S., Univ. of So. California, Los Angeles, Calif., B c j
- Bonner, Hubert, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., a B K m
- Bornman, Charles J., Cedar Crest Col., Allentown, Pa., a b g i K
- Bossard, James H. S., Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., h k m o
- Bowers, Raymond V., 3887 Rodman St., N.W., Washington 16, D.C.
- Bowman, Claude C., Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Boyd, Neva L., 1919 W. Cullerton St., Chicago, Ill.
- Boyer, Edward S., James Millikin Univ., Decatur, Ill., A i l
- Bradbury, William Chapman, Jr., 5528 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill., b h m o
- Brandenburg, S. J., Clark Univ., Worcester, Mass.
- Brearely, H. C., Peabody Col., Nashville, Tenn., B k m n
- Brennan, Wintress, Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- Brenner, W. Nisson, Pa. Inst. of Criminology, Philadelphia, Pa., c j N
- Brewster, James, State Library, Hartford, Conn.
- Brickner, Barnett R., Euclid Ave. Temple, Cleveland, Ohio
- Bridgman, Ralph P., 131 Westminister Rd., Brooklyn, N.Y., b e k m p
- §Bright, Margaret L., 231 Mumford Hall, Columbia, Mo., b c f G
- †Brightman, Howard H., Box 35, Newton Center, Mass.
- Britt, Stuart Henderson, 2910 Dumbarton Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., B k m n o

- Brookover, Wilbur, Ind. State Teachers Col., Terre Haute, Ind.
- Brooks, Lee M., Brierbridge Lane, Chapel Hill, N.C., a h j n
- Brown, B. Warren, 5641 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill., a e l
- §Brown, Esther Lucile, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N.Y., c i
- Brown, George K., 29 DeForrest Rd., Lansdowne, Pa.
- Brown, Julia S., 253 Wildrose Ave., San Antonio, Texas, A c f k
- Brown, L. Guy, 281 Forest St., Oberlin, Ohio
- Brown, W. O., Howard Univ., Washington 1, D.C., d o
- Brownlow, Louis, 1313 East 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
- Brunner, Edmund DeS., Teachers Col., Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y., c e G h
- Bruno, Frank J., Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- Brunsmann, Howard G., Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., c p
- Brush, Ruth Seaman, 11 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass., C d h i
- Bryson, Gladys, Smith Col., Northampton, Mass.
- Bucklin, Harold Stephen, 124 Woodbine St., Providence, R.I.
- Bunzel, Joseph H., 3530 Cottage Ave., Baltimore, Md., B e l m o
- Burdell, Edwin S., The Cooper Union, New York, N.Y., a h i j
- *Burgess, E. W., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., C k m n p
- Burgess, J. S., 1904 North 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Burke, W. W., Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- Burrow, Trigant, Lifwynn Fndn., 27 East 37th St., New York, N.Y., b M
- Busch, Henry Miller, Cleveland Col., Cleveland, Ohio, a B i j k o
- Bushnell, C. J., 2130 Wyndhurst Rd., Toledo, Ohio, c e f H i j l
- Cahnman, Werner J., Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn., a b O p
- Caldwell, Morris G., 371 Woodland Circle, Madison 4, Wis., b c f h k m n
- Caldwell, Robert Graham, c/o James Sutton, Arcadia, Fla., b c i k m N
- Callaghan, Hubert C., 3303 Tenth St., N.E., Washington, D.C., g h i j k n p
- Callaghan, Margaret, St. Joseph Col., West Hartford, Conn., I n
- Cantor, Nathaniel, Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.
- Cantwell, Daniel M., St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill.
- Cape, T. W., Univ. of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
- Capen, Edward Warren, 80 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn.
- Carlson, Glen E., Univ. of Redlands, Redlands, Calif., i n
- Carmichael, F. L., 2230 Colorado Blvd., Denver, Colo.
- Carpenter, Thomas P., 1086 N. Cherry St., Galesburg, Ill., a b e h i j
- §Carr, Malcolm J., 222 W. Adams St., Chicago 6, Ill., A b c f h n o
- Carter, Hugh, 301 St. Mark's St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Case, Clarence M., Univ. of So. California, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Cattell, J. McKeen, The Science Press, Lancaster, Pa.
- Cavan, Ruth Shonle, Rockford Col., Rockford, Ill.
- Cavanaugh, Frank, Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- Cell, Clark W., 1112 Austin St., Evanston, Ill., a B e f h j
- Cell, Erma J., 1112 Austin St., Evanston, Ill., I k m
- Chakerian, Charles G., 269 Mohegan Ave., New London, Conn., i n
- Chamberlain, Joseph P., Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
- Chamberlain, Lucy J., 40 East 10th St., New York, N.Y.
- Champlin, Mildred Wilder, 34 Ford Ave., Oneonta, N.Y.
- Chao, S. H., 3836 McKinley St., N.W., Washington, D.C., a b c g K
- Chapin, F. Stuart, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., b c f i
- Chapman, Stanley H., 318 E. Durham St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Chatterje, Manmatha Nath, 913 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio
- Child Welfare League of America, 130 East 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Christina, Sister M., Marygrove Col., Detroit, Mich., a g i k m n
- Chugerman, Samuel, 44 Butler Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y., a b c e i j m o
- ¶Clark, Carroll D., Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas
- Clark, Lawrence E., Trinity Univ., San Antonio, Texas
- Clark, Robert E., 5431 Kenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c F n
- Clark, S. Delbert, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto 5, Canada, A h l
- Clark, William R., Providence Col., Providence, R.I., a i k
- Clarke, Edwin L., Rollins Col., Winter Park, Fla., j k
- Clausen, John A., 5721 N. 11th St., Arlington, Va., B c f
- Cleland, Wendell, American Univ. at Cairo, Cairo, Egypt.
- Clinard, Marshall B., B-11 Taylor, Presidential Gardens, Alexandria, Va., a b c f k N
- Cobb, William C., Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass.
- Cobbledick, M. Robert, Connecticut Col., New London, Conn., a j k

- ¶Cohen, Albert K., Indiana Boys School, Plainfield, Ind.
 Cohen, Henry, 770 Hendrix St., Brooklyn, N.Y., h i k
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NOTE TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM PRESIDENT LUNDBERG

The members of the Society have voted by a majority of about 60% and the Executive Committee has voted by a two-thirds majority to hold the annual meeting in the absence of any government request to the contrary. In the absence of any definite policy on the part of the ODT and in view of the large number of conventions of all kinds that accordingly are being held throughout the country, the meeting of a few hundred scientists in a single annual meeting devoted largely to war and postwar problems seems definitely warranted, especially in view of the concessions proposed with respect to time and place of meeting.

The pressure of special work and increased financial burdens which many of our members are experiencing may result in a reduced attendance and confine attendance even more than usual to the locality in which the meeting is held. On the other hand, the meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society in New York City last April drew an unusually good attendance (over 100 registered), and Chairmen of Sections have had little difficulty in securing participants in the program as submitted herewith. The fact probably is that while a large number of our members are engaged in war work, the majority are still engaged chiefly in their regular work of teaching and research.

New York City is recommended as the place of meeting for a number of reasons: (a) A larger proportion of our membership is concentrated near this city than any other of our usual meeting places. (See *American Sociological Review*, April 1943, p. 203 ff.) Several hundreds of

our members can reach it without Pullman accommodations. (b) The presence of large numbers of mid-western and southern sociologists in Washington makes the fact noted under (a) especially true at present. (c) New York City is perhaps relatively less abnormally crowded as compared with other large cities and has relatively adequate hotel accommodations.

It is true that a meeting in New York City under present conditions will be perhaps largely a regional meeting. This is always true to some extent of our annual meeting, but it would be less true of New York than of any other city at present on account of the conditions mentioned under (a) and (b) above. On the basis of our experience with the Eastern Sociological Society's meeting last April, it would appear that an attendance of two or three hundred could reasonably be expected in New York this fall. This would compare favorably with our attendance at peacetime meetings. On the other hand it would meet the government's transportation concern by (a) being a small meeting as national conventions go, and (b) being chiefly a local meeting.

The time, Saturday and Sunday, December 4 and 5, is suggested to avoid both Thanksgiving and Christmas peaks of traffic. This time was the second choice of members in the national poll. Their first preference was early in September. The difficulty of making the necessary arrangements, especially in having the papers for the program ready at so early a date, hardly permitted consideration of the September date.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG, *President*

TENTATIVE PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

New York City, December 4 and 5

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 8:30 A.M.

Registration.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 9:00-10:00 A.M.

Business Meeting for reports of committees and representatives of the Society.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 10:00-12:00 A.M.

Social Research. Raymond V. Bowers, National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Chairman.

"A Controlled Analysis of the Relationship of Guided Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities to the Scholastic Achievement and Social Adjustment of College Students," Reuben Hill, University of South Dakota.

"Techniques of Social Reform: An Analysis of the Dry Movement," Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University.

"Reliability of the Idea-Centered Question in Interview Schedules," Morton B. King, Jr., Camp Shelby, Mississippi.

Social Theory. J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Chairman.

General Topic: Some Contributions of Social Theory to Post-War World Organization.

"The Minimal Institutional Essentials for World Organization," Cecil C. North, Ohio State University.

"Regionalism and a Permanent Peace," Harry E. Moore, University of Texas.

"World Planning: What is Involved?," J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska.

"Global Opinion and the Maintenance of Peace," Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University.

Population. Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Chairman.

General Topic: International Implications of Recent Population Trends.

"Population Trends in the Soviet Union," Frank Lorimer, American University.

"Population Trends in Japan," Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington.

Discussant: Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University.

Social Psychology. Edgar A. Schuler, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Chairman.

General Topic: The Social Psychology of Americans: Nationalist Versus Internationalist Implications.

"Attitudes Held by Intellectuals," Robert K. Merton, Columbia University.

"Attitudes Held by Farmers," Carl C. Taylor, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1:00-3:00 P.M.

General Session. Edmund deS. Brunner, Columbia University, Presiding.

Community Organization for War and Post-War Activities.

Paper by Mrs. Wladislava Frost, Area Supervisor District of Columbia Office of Civilian Defense.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Community and Ecology. Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, Chairman.

"The Ecology of Political Parties: A Case and a Critique," Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University.

"Geopolitics and the Theory of Regionalism," Werner J. Cahnman, Fisk University.

"Metropolitan Ecology and Rural Regionalism: A Needed Integration in Theory," James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati.

"The Relation of Human Ecology to General Sociology," Milla Alihan, New York City.

Sociometry. C. P. Loomis, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Chairman.

General Topic: Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living.

"What Level of Living Indexes Measure," Margaret Jarman Hagood and Louis J. Ducoff, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

"Regional Variations in Levels and Standards of Living: White Farm Families," Edgar A. Schuler, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The Family. M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh, Chairman.

"Changing Cultural Problems in American Family Life," Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History.

"Needed Legislation Relative to the Family," John S. Bradway, Duke University.

"How Can the Family Best Meet the Repercussion of the War," James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 8:00 P.M.

General Session. George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, Presiding.

Papers by Read Bain, Robert S. Lynd, and George A. Lundberg.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 9:00-10:00 A.M.

Business Meeting of the Society.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 10:00-12:00 A.M.

Latin America. T. Lynn Smith, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Presiding.

Locality Group Structure in Latin America. C. C. Taylor, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Argentina); N. L. Whetten, University of Connecticut (Mexico); T. Lynn Smith, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Brazil).

General Session. Post-War Society (Chairman to be selected).

Papers by Dudley Kirk, Robert M. MacIver, F. Stuart Chapin, and William F. Ogburn.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1:00-3:00 P.M.

Population. Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Chairman.

General Topic: Methodology and Policy.

"Internal Migration During the War: A Methodological Analysis and Critique," Philip M. Hauser, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

"Potentialities for Demographic Research from the Records of the Immigration Service," E. P. Hutchinson, U. S. Immigration Service.

"Some Programs Leading to a Positive Population Policy," T. J. Woofter, Jr., Federal Security Agency.

Sociological Measurement. Harry W. Alpert, Office of War Information, Chairman.

"The Measurement of Morale," Arnold Rose, Special Services Division, War Department.

"Foundations for the Scaling of Attributes," Louis Guttman, Cornell University.

"Statistical Measurements of Trends in Musical Tastes," John H. Mueller, University of Indiana.

Community and Ecology. Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, Chairman.

"The Old New Orleans and the New: A Case for Ecology," Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University.

"The Urban Adjustments of Rural Migrants," Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky.

"The Pacific Coast Community at War," Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington.

General Discussion (Discussion Leaders to be selected)

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Social Research. Raymond V. Bowers, National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Chairman.

General Topic: Statistics in the Government Service.

"Coordination of Government Statistical Programs," Stuart A. Rice, U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

"Methodological Problems in Government Statistical Programs," W. Edwards Deming, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

"The Operation of a Government Statistical Program," Kenneth H. McGill, National Headquarters, Selective Service System.

Social Psychology. Edgar A. Schuler, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Chairman.

"Attitudes of Americans Regarding Selected Foreign Countries," Jerome Bruner, Office of Public Opinion Research, Princeton University.

"The Attitude of Economic Restrictionism and Its Implications," C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State College.

"American Personality Stereotyping and Its Implications," Leonard S. Cottrell, War Department.

Criminology. Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman.

"Crime and the Frontier Mores," Mabel Elliott, University of Kansas.

"The Deterrent Effect of Corporal Punishment for Crime," Robert G. Caldwell, University of Delaware.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE BY-LAWS

The following amendments to the By-Laws are proposed with a view toward ironing out difficulties which have arisen since the adoption of the new Constitution, or to deal with the situations about which some question has been raised. The new words are italicized.

Article II, Section 1.: Add, at the end of the first sentence, "*for a term of one year. Officers and members of the Executive Committee shall begin their term of office at the beginning of the calendar year following their election.*"

Article II, Section 1., paragraph a: Amend the second last sentence of the paragraph to read as follows: "These ballots shall be sent to the membership of the Society by *first class mail* by May 15 of each year."

Article II, Section 1., d: Add the following sentence, "*In case of the death, resignation, or inability to serve of any officer elected—before the beginning of his term, the nominee receiving the next highest number of votes for that office shall be declared elected.*"

Article II, Section 2.: Change the first sentence to read, "All members *whose dues for the*

current year have been paid by May 1, as certified by the Treasurer shall be sent ballots for the election by mail."

Article V, Section 2.: Change "the term of Editor to begin with Number 2," etc., to "the term of Editor to begin with Number 4," etc.

Article VI, Section 3.: Amend by striking out the words, "prior to the next annual meeting." (These words apparently were based on the assumption that the fiscal year would end in June and that the report of the auditor would be published some time prior to the annual meeting in December. Having the fiscal year end in June presents obvious difficulties and an alternative proposal will be presented to the Executive Committee this year. These words are meaningless, for any issue of the *Review* comes out "prior to the next annual meeting." If the fiscal year is changed to a December 1 basis and meetings continue to be held the last week in December, the auditor's report can be presented to the Executive Committee and can, if it is desired, be duplicated and distributed at the annual meeting.)

CURRENT ITEMS



EDITORIAL NOTES

The following communication from the Book Review Editors speaks for itself. The Editor appreciates their work, and emphasizes the point that book reviewing is an especially thankless task in proportion to the thought and energy required. He would rather have them retain their spontaneity and sense of freedom even if this occasionally digs too hard into somebody, than to have the kind of freedom described in the following anecdote. An artist once said to his friend: "I want you to come into the studio and give me your *absolutely frank, honest opinion* about my new picture. I've just kicked two dumb critics downstairs."

But since other people should have a little freedom and spontaneity also, see again "Communications and Opinion" on p. 214 of the April 1943 number.

The Editor is by no means overwhelmed by the rejoinders and protests which have come in as a result of this invitation. These are fewer than one might expect in view of the almost (?) belligerent differences among various schools of sociological thinking and in view of the tendency of personalities themselves to become deeply involved with their scientific thoughtways. These controversies put spice into our too-dull-literary fare and are educative for students.

In the August and the present issues, the reader may also note increased controversial material among the major articles. While it is too early yet to assert a definite trend, the Editor will not be surprised if in these days of war and post-war planning and occupational dislocation of many sociologists, there is a temporary decrease in the number of good research reports of the usual sort. He will not be surprised if there is an increase in contributions dealing with the relation of sociology to social policy and social action on the international, national, community or even classroom level. Some of these will need to be judged not as "discoveries" or "contributions to knowledge," but according to how well they focus significant issues and pro-

voke their discussion on the scientific, sociological, level.

STATEMENT BY THE BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

Of recent months, a number of rejoinders and protests relating to the book review section have been published,* and we feel that for the sake of clearer understanding and continued good relations with the members of the Society, a statement of the policies under which we have been operating should be published.

To begin with, we wish to point out that in 1936 and at frequent intervals thereafter we have sent to reviewers a mimeographed statement which includes the following quotation from *The Journal of Social Psychology*:

"A review must be written strictly at the professional level. . . . It must avoid trivialities, such as chapter divisions, spelling of words, typographical errors, or any other matters that the reader is not looking for in that book. (If, however, errors are especially numerous or flagrant, it may be well to call the publisher's attention to careless proofreading, pied type, transposition of pages, and the like, more especially if meaning is thereby rendered obscure.) A review must not be a soap-box or pulpit from which the reviewer exhibits his own intellectual hobbies or private feelings. It is the book that is being reviewed, and the book must occupy the stage. . . . A competent book deals with issues or with techniques for the investigation of issues. A competent review identifies those issues, determines their importance, and evaluates the success or failure of the book in the accomplishment of its purpose. For a reviewer to point out that the purpose of a book is not his purpose, is in fact a statement by means of which the reviewer substitutes himself for the book. That type of vulgarity has no place on the stage of . . . (good) books."

In other words, we have systematically cautioned reviewers against the all-too-common faults to which editors in general, to say nothing

*In "Communications" under *Current Items*, which is the responsibility of the Editor.

ing of authors of books reviewed, rightly object. But now comes the rub:

Once having issued this warning, we have felt compelled to accept all reviews that we have specifically requested. If a reviewer shows bad taste, unfairness, or jealousy, that is his concern and not ours. As long as the review stays within the space limits initially assigned, we never alter it except to make minor changes in English, punctuation, and the like. When anyone who cares to inspect the pages of the *Review* will do so, they will notice that our own books have received adverse comments and that we have faithfully printed these comments. What applies to us should apply, we think, to everyone else, regardless of his eminence or his self-esteem. Finally, we quote from the same mimeographed instructions with regard to the question of unsigned book notes:

"The Book Notes section is designed to accommodate books of minor importance or marginal significance to which some notice should be given, but which are not deemed worthy of extended recognition. If the reviewer feels that a book sent to him for an unsigned notice actually merits the more formal recognition that goes with signature, he may properly sign the review. Nevertheless, it remains true that in most instances the space assigned (running from 50 to 100 words) is all that can be granted a book sent out under the 'unsigned' category."

If the policies just sketched meet with the disapproval of any member of the Society, we should be glad to be notified, either directly or through our editor-in-chief, Professor J. K. Folsom. We are not infallible, and our policies may be wrong. As long as we have policies that have been definitely stated, however, we will follow them closely. Modifications, by all means and at any time; consideration of persons, never.

Respectfully yours,

HOWARD BECKER

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON MEMBERS IN THE ARMED FORCES

HOWARD H. BRIGHTMAN, Newton Center, Mass.—Yeoman, U.S.N.R.

T. STANTON DIETRICH, Baton Rouge, La.—in the Armed Forces.

EDWARD W. GREGORY, University of Alabama—U. S. Naval Reserve.

NEAL C. GROSS, 1331 Philip St., New Orleans—Ensign.

F. B. KARNES, 413 S. Porter, Okmulgee, Okla.—Marine Corps.

RAYMOND K. MANEVAL, Co. B., 35th Sig. Tng. Bn., C.S.C.R.T.C., Camp Crowder, Mo.

GEORGE MASTERTON, Sgt., Hq. Det., 9th Tank Gp. (M), Camp Campbell, Ky.

CHARLES W. NELSON, Pvt., Classification Specialist, Air Corps, 2135 S.E. Elliott Ave., Portland, Ore.

ROBERT A. NISBET, formerly University of California—U. S. Army.

WILLIAM N. OMAN, Oxford University Press—now in Armed Forces.

CHRISTOPHER SMITH, Waterbury, Conn.—U. S. Army.

CHARLES M. SPENCER, 509 Base Hq. and A.B. Sq., S.A.A.C.C., San Antonio, Texas.

F. X. SUTTON, Lt., 15 Liberty St., Newtown, Pa.—Army Air Forces.

STOW E. SYMON, 6533 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill.—in Armed Forces.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

U. S. Department of State, Division of Cultural Relations. Donald E. Webster has been appointed a Senior Cultural Relations Officer in the American Foreign Service Auxiliary, and assigned to Turkey. He is the first cultural attaché to the Near East, although this type of representation in Latin America has been in operation for some time. Members interested in contact with Turkish social scientists or the Turkish scene should write Webster through the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State. Webster's war service was as a specialist on Turkey in the Office of Strategic Services to which he was released by Beloit College in October, 1941.

Rural Settlement Institute, Poughkeepsie, New York. The work of the Institute has led to the publication of *Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture: Co-operative Group Farming—A Practical Program of Rural Rehabilitation*, by Joseph W. Eaton, former Director of Research of the Institute, published by Harper and Brothers, 1943. The book carries a Foreword by M. L. Wilson and is dedicated to Edward A. Norman, President and founder of the Institute, which sponsored Eaton's study.

Henrik F. Infield, Executive Director of the Institute, writes that he has secured his long awaited American citizenship and has changed the spelling of his name (from the former Heinrich Infield).

University of Alabama. E. W. Gregory, Jr., is on leave of absence for active duty with the U. S. Naval Reserve. Lieutenant Gregory has completed his training at Quonset Point, Rhode Island, and is to be stationed at the Naval Air Station at Norfolk.

Harold L. Geisert is also on leave for work with the Division of Foreign Trade Statistics, Bureau of the Census.

In addition to carrying on the work in sociology the remaining members of the department of sociology are participating in the Army Training

programs at the University. Henry L. Andrews is teaching geography in the A.S.T. and the Army Aircrew Training Programs. D. E. V. Henderson is teaching mathematics in the S.T.A.R. program. And Howard H. Harlan, acting-head of the sociology department, is assisting in the administration of Army Training Programs.

Catholic University of America. Dr. Gladys Sellev has resigned to become head nurse and director of the nursing service of the Kansas City (Missouri) General Hospital. Dr. Sellev has taught sociology, nursing economics, ward management and child psychology since 1935 at *Catholic University*, which she has also served as a much appreciated benefactor.

University of Maine. Vincent H. Whitney, Instructor in Sociology, completed his work for the doctor's degree during the summer at the University of North Carolina. His dissertation, under the direction of Professor Rupert B. Vance, was titled "The Pattern of Village Life: A Study of Southern Piedmont Villages in Terms of Population, Structure, and Role."

University of Pennsylvania. Professor W. Rex Crawford has been granted leave of absence to go to Brazil where he will serve as Senior Cultural Adviser to the U.S. Department of State. Professor Donald Young has been appointed to succeed him as chairman of the department. Professor James H. S. Bossard and Mrs. Eleanor Boll, Research Assistant to the Carter Foundation, appear as authors of a new volume entitled "Family Situations," which has been published during the summer by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Professor Bossard continues to serve as chairman of the Social Science Division of the Graduate School. Assistant Professor Ray H. Abrams appears as special editor of the September issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The issue is devoted to "The American Family in World War II," and includes articles by Professors James Bossard and Thorsten Sellin.

Whitman College has appointed Dr. Philip M. Smith as Assistant Professor of Sociology. Dr. Smith has been teaching at Greenville College and is a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh. He assumed the duties of his new position in September.

At the meeting of the *Rural Sociological Society* in St. Louis, Missouri, September 15, the following officers were elected: Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota, president; W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, vice-president; Robert A. Polson, Cornell University, secretary; C. E. Lively, University of

Missouri, representative to executive Committee of the American Sociological Society.

Robert N. Ford, formerly of Vanderbilt University, writes that he is now Statistician, Division of Research and Statistics, Selective Service System.

We have just received news of the death of Carl D. Wells of George Washington University.

OBITUARY NOTICE

CARL D. WELLS: 1898-1943

Professor Carl Douglass Wells of The George Washington University passed away in August, 1943. He had taught sociology at George Washington for the past nine years, where he was Associate Professor of Sociology and executive officer of the Department of Sociology. Earlier he taught sociology at Texas Christian University and at Chapman College (California). From 1931-1934 he was Director of the Idaho Institute of Christian Education at the University of Idaho.

Dr. Wells was born in Spokane, Washington. He received the A.B. degree at Drake University, the A.M. degree at the Pacific School of Religion (Berkeley), and the Ph.D. degree in sociology at the University of Southern California in 1931. His doctoral dissertation was entitled, "A Changing Social Institution in an Urban Environment." He was the author of *The Changing City Church* (University of Southern California Press, 1934), and he left an unpublished manuscript on the subject of Social Control, which represented in recent years his chief field of sociological interest. Dr. Wells played an important part in the organization of the Lester F. Ward Sociological Society at George Washington (Ward was an alumnus of Columbian University, which later became George Washington University).

Professor Wells was a careful thinker, preferring to explore a sociological subject from every possible angle before arriving at conclusions of his own. He was scholarly in his habits of thinking, and developed an unusual degree of objectivity in all his work. He built up an established reputation as a successful teacher. He gave of his time unstintingly to the training of his students. Besides Mrs. Wells, he leaves a daughter, Grace Kathryn, and his father and mother.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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BOOK REVIEWS



BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

HOWARD BECKER AND THOMAS C. MCCORMICK
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Burnham: <i>The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom</i> . Gwynne Nettler	606
Seton-Watson: <i>Masaryk in England</i> . Jerry A. Neprash	607
Sulzbach: <i>National Consciousness</i> . Edmund Zawacki	608
Hess: <i>A Study in Jewish Nationalism</i> ; Goldblatt: <i>The Jew and His Language Problem</i> . Howard Becker	608
Kulischer: <i>Jewish Migration—Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects</i> . Henrik Infield	609
Alguy: <i>Permanent World Peace</i> . Harold W. Stoke	610
Beveridge: <i>Social Insurance and Allied Services</i> ; National Resources Planning Board: <i>Security, Work and Relief Policies</i> ; National Resources Planning Board: <i>National Resources Development Report for 1943</i> . R. Clyde White	610
Graham: <i>Social Goals and Economic Institutions</i> . William Orton	612
Bowley: <i>Studies in the National Income 1924-1938</i> . Willford I. King	612
Anderson and Davidson: <i>Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle: A Study in the Background of Political Education</i> . Kingsley Davis	613
Hill and Williams: <i>Radio's Listening Groups. The United States and Great Britain</i> . Kimball Young	614
Cronbach: <i>Exploring the Wartime Morale of High-School Youth</i> . C. Arnold Anderson	615
Shanas and Dunning: <i>Recreation and Delinquency: A Study of Five Selected Chicago Communities</i> ; Holland and Hill: <i>Youth in the CCC</i> . Read Bain	615
Thurston: <i>Concerning Juvenile Delinquency: Progressive Changes in Our Perspective</i> . E. D. Monachesi	616
Langer: <i>Psychology and Human Living</i> . Robert E. L. Faris	617
Menninger: <i>Love Against Hate</i> . Joseph K. Folsom	617
Stoddard: <i>The Meaning of Intelligence</i> . Paul R. Farnsworth	618
Sears: <i>Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts</i> . Joseph K. Folsom	619
Ford: <i>Smoke from Their Fires</i> . Morris Edward Opler	620
Newcomb: <i>Personality and Social Change</i> . William H. Sewell	620
MacLean y Estenós: <i>Sociología Peruana</i> . John Gillin	621
Bossano: <i>Los problemas de la sociología</i> . W. Rex Crawford	622
Wiese: <i>Sociology</i> . J. L. Moreno	622
Gillin, Dittmer, Colbert, and Kastler: <i>Social Problems</i> . Mapheus Smith	623

BOOKNOTES

Adams: <i>The Law of Civilization and Decay</i>	623
Scharfstein: <i>The Roots of Bergson's Philosophy</i>	623
Sheed, translator: <i>The Confessions of St. Augustine</i>	623
Villard: <i>John Brown 1800-1859</i>	623
Basseches: <i>The Unknown Army: The Nature and History of the Russian Military Forces</i> ..	624
Faulkner: <i>American Political and Social History</i>	624
Schwarz: <i>Memoirs of My People through a Thousand Years</i>	624
Powell: <i>In the Chinese Garden</i>	624
Yerkes: <i>Chimpanzees: A Laboratory Colony</i>	624

The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom. By JAMES BURNHAM. New York: The John Day Co., Inc., 1943. Pp. 270. \$2.50.

It has often been noted that when professional philosophers claim to use scientific method in a study of man or society, their version of "science" tends to remain philosophy, and hence subject to the very errors which it attempts to expose. Burnham's work is a rather clear example of this process. It is an effort to establish a group of social thinkers, "The Machiavellians," as leaders of a movement toward a science of politics. These "realists" are, for Burnham, Machiavelli, Mosca, Sorel, Michels, and Pareto, and their contributions to objective political theory are proclaimed in a series of brief essays summarizing the work of each. It seems that these men were true social scientists because, among other things, they knew what social goals were possible and they never confused the "formal meaning" of men's arguments with the "real meaning." Such confusion is evinced by Dante's *De Monarchia*, the 1932 platform of the Democratic party, and by the many charters, constitutions, proclamations, and promises of present political leaders.

The heart of Burnham's thesis concerns method. To be Machiavellian and hence, objective, requires that one uncover real meanings beneath formal disguises, and this disentangling process implies a technique. But nowhere is this method clearly outlined. Burnham's contribution to methodology consists of a demonstration of the divorce of formal and real meanings in the case of *De Monarchia*, but we are provided with none of the scientific insurances against bias, *Bereitschaft*, and selection to which this sort of analysis is subject. There is no way of validating Burnham's findings. How does one know that the purported "real meanings" are the real "real meanings"? Burnham offers no scientific test; his conclusions are purely speculative. As far as we can determine, the method employed is a crude type of insightful *Wissenschaftssoziologie* and philosophy of history.

The same criticism applies to the other criterion of Machiavellism—knowing what it is possible to achieve. By what method does one determine what is socially possible? While all Machiavellians admit the efficacy of myths and impossible goals as directives of social action, Burnham ridicules those social thinkers who hold stock in utopias. But where is the method by which one separates utopian goals from those that are possible, albeit amazing? We are reminded of the "impossible" task given all new

researchers at an electric appliances plant—they were to frost the inside of a light bulb. One of the "suckers" did it. The difficulty is brought home when Burnham begins to draw conclusions and make predictions. In one place he has to assure us that a certain development in the economic sphere is "far from being a fantasy." But how is one to know? In terms of Machiavellian principles, should Burnham even have considered an economic development that might prove to be a fantasy?

In spite of this methodological laxness, it is held that the Machiavellians have established certain principles "which, taken together, define Machiavellism as a distinctive tradition of political thought." In brief, these are:

1. An objective science of politics, and of society, comparable in its methods to the other empirical sciences, is possible.
2. The primary subject-matter of political science is the struggle for social power. . . .
3. The laws of political life cannot be discovered by an analysis which takes men's words and beliefs . . . at their face value.
4. Logical or rational action plays a relatively minor part in political and social change. For the most part it is a delusion to believe that in social life men take deliberate steps to achieve consciously held goals. Non-logical action, spurred by environmental changes, instinct, impulse, interest, is the usual social rule.
5. . . . the most significant social division to be recognized is that between the ruling class and the ruled, between the élite and the non-élite.
6. Historical and political science is above all the study of the élite, its composition, its structure, and the mode of its relation to the non-élite.
7. The primary object of every élite, or ruling class, is to maintain its own power and privilege.
8. The rule of the élite is based upon force and fraud.
9. The social structure as a whole is integrated and sustained by a political formula, which is usually correlated with a generally accepted religion, ideology, or myth.
10. The rule of an élite will coincide now more, now less, with the interests of the non-élite.
11. Two opposing tendencies always operate in the case of every élite: (a) an aristocratic tendency . . . (b) a democratic tendency. . . .
12. In the long run, the second of these tendencies always prevails.
13. There occur periodically very rapid shifts in the composition and structure of élites: that is, social revolution (pp. 223-226).

In the light of these Machiavellian principles, Burnham concludes his work with a section on "Politics and Truth" in which he attempts to answer three questions: "(1) What is the nature of the present historical period? (2) What is

the meaning of democracy? (3) Can politics be scientific?" (p. 227).

The answers: (1) We are driving towards the "managerial revolution" which will be accompanied by the intrusion of the military (lions) into the governing élite. This war is "a stage in a world social revolution," and has a double function: it is a revolution (shift of élites on a world-wide scale) and a war of nations for world domination.

(2) Democracy, considered as "government by the people," is impossible. The ideology of self-government and the practice of the suffrage strengthens the international trend toward "Bonapartism." Vice-President Wallace is "... the major prophet in this country of the Bonapartist *mystique*" (p. 239), while President Roosevelt's executive orders and ukases to Congress represent Bonapartism par excellence.

While democracy as popular self-government is impossible, it is possible to define democracy "non-mythologically" as a political system in which "liberty" exists. Liberty is defined as "juridical defense" (Mosca), that is, government by law. "Liberty" thus defined is what the Machiavellians are interested in. Further, the relative presence or absence of liberty can be measured as, for example, by indices of class mobility.

(3) Although it is possible to create a science of politics and of society, it is not possible for the masses to act scientifically, whereas the members of the élite, or at least certain sections of it, can and often do.

It is difficult to evaluate Burnham's conclusions, for they may or may not be the product of the intellectual routine through which the author takes us in his volume. But, assuming that any other political "scientist" would arrive at the same conclusions given the same Machiavellian data, it may still be argued that the abundance of logical error (*reductio ad absurdum*, *circulum in probando*), the lack of rigorous method, and the semantic inconsistencies to be found in Burnham and his Machiavellians are enough to cast doubt on the validity of the book's conclusions. If, despite these hindrances, Burnham has arrived at any truths that can be scientifically verified, we would be prone to believe that it was not because of his alleged adoption of the Machiavellian mode of theorizing. We have space for only one example illustrating how Burnham might be using one method in arriving at his conclusions while believing that he is using another.

Presumably Burnham accepts the Paretian theory of social change which holds that while

such elements as climate, economic factors ("interests"), and "derivations" are important in producing social change, the paramount factor is the "circulation of the élites" with its redistribution of the fairly stable "residues." Now some sociologists have argued that the Paretian concept of social change is unsatisfactory since it assumes social change as a cause of social change; in effect, it uses an *index* of social change (circulation of the élites) as a *cause* of social change. This may account for Burnham's apostasy to Machiavellian concepts when he slips over into the Ogburnian camp long enough to remark, "... the general pattern of social development is determined by technological change and by other factors quite beyond the likelihood of human control ..." (p. 265).

If a non-Machiavellian may be allowed to apply the Machiavellian technique, we shall attempt to divorce the real meaning of Burnham's work from the formal one. His ideology of "science" is a "derivation" for the "residue," Persistence of Dogmatic Philosophy.

GWYNNE NETTLER

Stanford University

Masaryk in England. By R. W. SETON-WATSON. Cambridge: The University Press, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. x + 206. \$2.75.

The contents of this volume fall roughly into three portions of unequal length—a brief survey of the historical backgrounds of the movement which culminated in an independent Czechoslovakia in 1918, a rather more adequate account of the significant events in a career "without any parallel in modern Europe," that of Thomas Masaryk, and, finally, a series of reprints of several of Masaryk's confidential memoranda, letters and lectures dating from the years 1915 and 1916.

It is in these that the chief significance of the book lies for any one concerned at all seriously with the problem of post-war world organization, for his observations concerning the hard facts of small Central European nationalities and nationalism are just as pertinent now as they were over a quarter of a century ago—facts which too many contemporary post-war planners, pre-occupied for the most part with economic and political considerations, are inclined to ignore. As timely in the summer of 1943 as it was in the winter of 1916 is Masaryk's emphasis upon the strategic need for a comprehensive political plan:

The Allies must meet the German plan of

Central Europe controlled by Germany, by the plan of Central Europe freed from German control . . . the German plan of Central Europe is a far-reaching and grandiose plan; the Allies must have an equally far-reaching plan for the treatment of Central Europe.

The mind of the sociologist-statesman is revealed in a penetrating analysis of the essential anti-militarism of democracies—a characteristic which accounts for the lack of preparedness at the onset of a war. Thought-stimulating, because it runs counter to the current run of thinking in the matter, is his contention that not only is the growth of nationalism not opposed to the development of internationalism (wars are essentially *interstate* and not international in character), but that the fuller recognition of nationality as the basis for international organization would eliminate one of the fertile factors in conflict. Significantly, he holds that the recognition of nationalism as an organizing principle is entirely compatible with such limitations on sovereignty as may be found necessary for international organization. "The degree and form of independence in every individual case will easily be found and formulated when once the principle has been acknowledged."

Mr. Seton-Watson, leading English supporter of Masaryk and protagonist of a free Czechoslovakia, was undoubtedly prompted by political considerations in publishing the materials which comprise the volume at the present time. It contains much that transcends the immediate concerns of 1943, as it did those of 1916.

JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College

National Consciousness. By WALTER SULZBACH. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. \$2.50.

What is satisfying about *National Consciousness* by Walter Sulzbach is the firmness with which the author holds this elusive subject up to the light of critical analysis. The Germanocentric gravitation of the factual material is perhaps too persistent, but is not irritatingly intrusive, because Sulzbach has to a high degree washed his scholarship clean of national bias. Because he has also successfully avoided reaching at premature conclusions, the sociological phenomenon of national consciousness is not slippery in his grasp. As a result the book as a whole gives the impression of a stable pyramid of argument standing on a base of clear definitions.

Perhaps the most important premise of the

book, which the author establishes after a chapter each on "Modern Trends" and "The Historical Background," is that "nations are to a large extent man-made social groups and have become what they are by more than a natural impulse of the people concerned." This is a careful way of stating that national consciousness is a product of agitation and education rather than of such specious and illusory factors as "blood," "race," "instinct," etc. The terms explaining national consciousness are not limited, however, only to agitation and education.

Succeeding chapters expose the confusions arising in the individual and mass mind about such concepts as "national honor," "national interests," "national character," "imperialism," and the like. The chapter on imperialism, although it is not without certain challengeable assertions, produces a definition well worth remembering by statesmen at the peace conferences after this war: "Imperialism, in general, may therefore be defined as the tendency of a state to remain intact even against the will of sections of its subjects, or to enlarge the area of its power."

At the peak of Sulzbach's pyramid of argument which is based on definitions as pregnant as this, is the point of the whole book, i.e., that an understanding of the true character of national consciousness leads one to believe it need not and will not exist generation after generation as a dangerous political force.

EDMUND ZAWACKI

University of Wisconsin

A Study in Jewish Nationalism. Rome and Jerusalem. By MOSES HESS. Translated and with a new Preface by Meyer Waxman. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1943. \$2.00.

The Jew and His Language Problem. By DAVID GOLDBLATT. New York: 1411 Vyse Ave., Bronx. Pp. 202. \$2.00.

Study of minority groups in the United States languished for a long time under the spell of settlement romanticism. The great leaders of the settlement movement labored mightily to shame the arrogant native American into reluctant admiration of the immigrant by pointing to the quaint, colorful, and out-of-the-way lives led in the Little Sicilies and like rooting-places of old world traits transplanted. We were invited to turn tourist, as it were; a glorified Cook's Tour of Europe was made available in most American cities of any size or consequence. We thereby learned to appreciate the European

underdog, but rarely did we achieve any real sociological knowledge of him. Indeed, we often-times were so warmly sympathetic that we gave him bad advice or failed to recognize that difficulties in adjustment cannot always be laid exclusively at the door of those among whom the migrant comes.

This romantic attitude was of course often reinforced by our revulsion against the horrible cruelties practiced upon many persecuted minorities. The Jew, for example, has rightly had many champions and should have many more. Merely to champion, however, is one thing; to champion wisely there must also be knowledge unswayed by emotion even though generous. We friendly Gentiles do the Jew no real service by reinforcing his ethnocentrism, his self-righteousness, his religious endogamy, and his clanishness. No one in his senses would deny the existence of these and other far more dangerous characteristics among Gentiles—but where majorities can afford such fire-drawing weaknesses, minorities cannot.

Reflections like these are called forth by the recent revival of *Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism*, by Moses Hess. First written in 1862, it proclaims the racial superiority of the Jew, his primary allegiance to the Zionist state, and the indelibility of the Jewish character:

Judaism as a nationality has a natural basis which cannot be set aside by mere conversion to another faith, as in the case in other religions. A Jew belongs to his race and consequently also to Judaism in spite of the fact that he or his ancestors have become apostates (pp. 97-98).

No, gentle reader, this is not a passage from *Mein Kampf*, but a direct quotation from one of Zionism's earliest apostles, so esteemed by his fellows that 1943 sees a new edition of his work. Let us turn to a book that seems to be diametrically opposed, Goldblatt's *The Jew and His Language Problem*. Here is a bitter polemic against Hebraistic Zionism, a fight for Yiddish as the Jewish language, which nevertheless stands on common ground with Moses Hess; namely, the refusal to merge with the rest of the world. To quote:

The Yiddish speaking Jew cannot conceive any sincerity in a reform of his religion. . . . Inter-marriage, a certain loss to Judaism, is detestable to the Yiddish speaking Jews, while it is prevalent among the non-Yiddish speaking ones everywhere. . . . (pp. 26-27). The Jews are inbred for some thousands of years, while the British and Americans are the grossest mongrels of any race (p. 31). . . .

To the Jewish people, the agitation for a Jewish education in the English language sounds like a clarion call for a march into the melting pot. . . . (p. 170).

The tenacity of the will to remain "a peculiar people," "a people set apart," is in some ways admirable, but the sociologist may perhaps be permitted to question its wisdom. True, the Jew as Jew has survived, but at what a frightful cost of humiliation, impotent resentment, twisted and contorted ego-assertion, and an immediate future that may well be little if any brighter than the somber past! Perhaps those peoples who have not survived as distinct ethnic units, who have merged with some portion of mankind large enough to transcend tribal loyalties, have chosen the better part. One sociologist, at least, is inclined to think so.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Jewish Migration—Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects. By EUGENE M. KULISCHER. Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee, 1943. Pp. 51. 20 cents.

At a stage where all discussion of post-war problems must necessarily remain more or less speculative, this little pamphlet, the fourth in a series on "Jews and the Post-War World," performs a valuable service of clarification. The facts, authoritatively mustered and concisely presented by Professor Kulischer, show that the pattern of Jewish migration, contrary to the sentimental cliché of the "Wandering Jew," is similar to that followed by the migrations of other population groups. Accordingly, the author concludes that Jewish post-war migration should be dealt with as part of general post-war reconstruction, which he expects to be characterized by a "change from the method of subsidizing individual immigrants to that of planning mass resettlement on an agrarian-industrial basis." Kulischer makes these three positive proposals: (1) that post-war migration be organized and regulated on a world-wide scale; (2) that it include careful selection and rational retraining; (3) that the problem of geographic distribution be treated as one of "rational redistribution of working power." These proposals are certainly sound enough. In the light of "past experience" it must, however, be feared that their very soundness will probably prevent them from being carried out.

HENRIK INFELD

Rural Settlement Institute

Permanent World Peace. By JEREMIAH S. ALGUY. New York: Standard Publishing Co., 1943. Pp. 304.

This book is essentially an analysis of the League of Nations as it applied or did not apply to the political events which led to the present World War. The author believes that peace is only possible when it "is protected against all those disturbances which sooner or later lead to the brutal subjugation of all nations or States not ready for war. . . ." This protection should have been provided by the League and was not. It is evidently the purpose of the book to discover why the League failed and how it could be so constructed as to accomplish its purpose of insuring permanent peace.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the Covenant of the League. This analysis is accompanied by a running presentation of the diplomatic events from the Italo-Ethiopian dispute to the outbreak of the war. This review of the Covenant is meticulously done and happily without an overburden of footnotes, but it adds little to our knowledge of the breakdown of the League. Part Two of the book is an effort to revise and apply to the postwar world the legal principles embodied in the League and the Treaty of Versailles. It supposes a fairly complete return to the *status quo*, certainly for the victorious nations, governed by the principles of self-determination and of membership in a new peace system. Germany is to be prevented by partition (slicing off of buffer states) and by internal reorganization from again becoming a menace. Following an organizational foundation for peace, steps could next be taken to eliminate racial, anti-democratic, and other doctrines subversive to peace.

In all this there is a curious impression of abstractness or unreality about the author's treatment. There is no apparent appreciation of the ungovernable quality of nationalist feelings, of the fierce rivalries between states, of the sickening fears of aggression, of diplomatic intrigue, all of which can be made subject to no law. The author assumes without question that a world of national states can unite to keep the peace. Of course he also assumes they will be democratic states, "civilized" states, and Members of the Peace Union. States which have not yet achieved this high stage of development (e.g., Turkey) must be kept in a probationary state, possibly for decades, until they have been transformed into "real Democracies."

The unworldly quality of the book is revealed in the following paragraph:

An important part of the preparations for world peace will also be the preliminary conclusion of the Covenant of the Peace Union among the democratic nations, the establishment of the Peace Tribunal and the selection of its judges, the organizing of the General Sanctions' Office and the other offices and institutions (e.g., Labor Office) of the Peace Union, the conclusion of the Treaties of Re-establishment (Establishment) and Treaties of Competence and Sanctions and the Minority Autonomy Treaties. As soon as all these Treaties have been undersigned, the entire apparatus of the new political peace system can come into operation at one blow and without any interregnum of dangerous anarchy.

It is not at all name-calling to describe this book as a work on legal fiction.

HAROLD W. STOKES

University of Wisconsin

Social Insurance and Allied Services. By SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. 299. \$1.00.

Security, Work and Relief Policies. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. xii + 640. \$2.25.

National Resources Development Report for 1943. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, January, 1943. Pp. v + 81. \$0.25.

These three reports present the British and American plans for achieving freedom from want. While the ends sought are the same, the viewpoints expressed, the measures proposed and the clarity of conceptions differ considerably. Some variations in the two national plans are necessary because of historical factors, but others seem to reflect the personalities of those who prepared the reports.

On June 10, 1941, the Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, announced in the House of Commons the appointment of an Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services. Sir William Beveridge of University College, Oxford, was appointed chairman of the Committee, which consisted of himself and eleven civil servants from the departments concerned. Because it would have been inappropriate for the members of the civil service to express opinions without the approval of the respective ministers, the report was written and presented by Sir William alone. He had played an important part in the

formulation of the social insurance legislation of 1911 and had been closely associated with the administration of British social insurance since that date. No one else in Great Britain is so well informed on both the practical and the theoretical problems of social insurance, and the report clearly reflects the knowledge and understanding which Sir William had gained through this long experience.

The American National Resources Planning Board developed out of the exigencies of the depression and has become a sort of general staff for the planning of domestic policies under the Roosevelt administration. Whether or not the study of and planning for social security may be called its major function, there can be no question that this part of its work has attracted the widest attention of anything it has done. For several years the Board's Technical Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies has been collecting statistics, analyzing statutes, and studying administrative experience. *Security, Work and Relief Policies* is the report of this Committee which was transmitted by the Board to the President on December 4, 1941—a year before the Beveridge report was published in Britain! The 1943 report of the Board contains recommendations derived largely from the earlier report, but stated more specifically and more systematically than the implied recommendations of the first report.

The Beveridge report has been called a "cradle-to-grave" plan for social security, and because it was given to the public before our own report this appellation has been attached to the report of the Board. The phrase is not entirely inappropriate, because both reports propose to guarantee medical care, food, clothing, and shelter to the entire population, irrespective of private income, from the pre-natal state to burial. Poverty and the attendant slow starvation are to be abolished. In so far as it is administratively possible, the British and American plans call for an end of relief based upon a means test on the ground that in large measure this is economically practicable and altogether desirable from an ethical viewpoint. Such a plan has been called revolutionary. It is not. It is a logical goal of democratic ideals and a rising standard of living. It represents a realistic appreciation of the value of human capital as represented by labor, manual and intellectual.

The Beveridge report is a blueprint for legislation. It sets forth the kinds of social insurance and assistance benefits which are needed and states the weekly benefit amounts which would

be paid in case of unemployment, accident, illness, old age, widowhood, child dependency, maternity, marriage or death. On this basis the amount of income needed is estimated, and the respective contributions per week of the worker, and the employer and the governmental subsidy are set forth in shillings and pounds. Facts are presented to show why it is desirable public policy to abolish private "industrial insurance" and to transfer workmen's compensation insurance to a government insurance agency. Present variations in insurance and assistance benefits are to be terminated, and in the future the benefit will be an amount sufficient to maintain physical health and some degree of decency. The vested interests of the friendly societies, which now participate in administration of health insurance, will be terminated by transferring all administrative functions over to government. The final proposal is to gather up all social insurance and assistance functions and put them into a new Ministry of Social Security.

The American report is not a blueprint for legislation. The report of the Technical Committee, as Sir William recently remarked, resembles the 1909 report of the British Royal Commission on the Poor Law. It is a competent, factual, well-documented statement of the need of measures for social security. Nowhere else can the same abundance of pertinent material be found between two covers of a report or book, and the mass of facts is illuminated by frequent discussion of theoretical questions. The 1943 report is relatively short. The case for social security is made clearly and emphatically, and recommendations are made concerning (1) the maintenance of employment, (2) expansion of social insurance, (3) provision of a supplementary scheme of public assistance and (4) assurance of health and educational services superior to anything we have yet had. But no financial plan is presented that would compare with Sir William's computation of costs. (Sir William, be it noted, is a Scotsman!) Where public assistance should be expected to meet needs which cannot be met under a comprehensive social insurance plan is not clear. When it comes to a national plan of medical care, the American reports use weasel words, and their approach to health insurance is decidedly coy.

There will be attacks on the Beveridge plan, but the attacks will not come because of ambiguity in the report. Vested interests are challenged. The plan to pay flat rate benefits and to collect flat rate social security taxes

creates an inflexible system which may run into difficulties because of the secular trend of production in Britain or because of recurring cyclical conditions. Presumably the American plan would collect contributions on the basis of a percent of wages and would pay benefits according to the same principle; this provides a degree of automatic flexibility which is not permitted under a flat rate system. But the absence of a rational plan for financing the American scheme deprives the Board's recommendations of anything that the public can get its teeth into and debate. It reduces the chances of widespread democratic discussion and, therefore, of enhancement of public understanding. The weakness of the health insurance proposals is inexcusable.

R. CLYDE WHITE

University of Chicago

Social Goals and Economic Institutions. By FRANK D. GRAHAM. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xxii + 273. \$3.00.

This is a much bigger achievement than the page enumeration might suggest—bigger in both senses. The pages are 9¼ by 6, and the type, though very readable, is close-set. In bulk it is quite a major work: also in aim. Graham says frankly it is "of the nature of a confession of faith." There are four parts. The first formulates a broad social philosophy, headed up towards economics. The second and third deal critically and constructively with the recognized economic categories—property, inheritance (which gets a severe trimming), competition, money, profits, wages, rent, interest. The last attempts an "implementation of the program of power-cum-freedom."

Graham acknowledges at the outset his debt to "three supreme writers—H. G. Wells, Jeremy Bentham, and Thorstein Veblen"; but—perhaps fortunately—it is evident that his thought is more deeply rooted in Locke, Rousseau, Smith, and Mill. His social philosophy, like that of other recent writers, centers on "the thirst for power which is the sovereign master under whose governance nature has placed mankind"; but this gloss on Bentham lacks the psychological depth that others have given it. We emerge with a fairly orthodox economic liberalism, in which freedom of enterprise and a willingness to accept its risks take decided precedence over the quest for security.

Thus launched on what is really a brief for the economics of free enterprise, we encounter at once Graham's pet bugbear, the monetary

system. He gives us in this volume a synthesis of his well-known proposals with some important addenda. We have not only the familiar argument for 100-percent reserves, but a reasoned endorsement of the plan for commodity reserve money advanced independently by Mr. Benjamin Graham. Professor Graham extends the argument for this scheme—which would endow a collection of basic commodities with the functions formerly assigned to free gold—to such broad issues as control of the general price level, stability of the foreign exchanges, and a solution of the tariff question. The argument is of first-rate importance to economists, especially as it is supplemented in chapter nine with a strong critique of the Keynes theory of interest.

The discussion of these matters, and of others touching the theory of distribution, is sharpened by many aphorisms which, with the footnotes, are among the best things in the book. Graham is to be congratulated on the success of his escape from academic "economics" to the more fruitful field of political economy. He makes a gallant attempt to restate its liberal tradition in up-to-date terms; and not least among the merits of the volume is that almost every page is, on a very worth-while level, controversial.

WILLIAM ORTON

Smith College

Studies in the National Income 1924-1938. By ARTHUR L. BOWLEY, Sc.D. Cambridge: The University Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 255. \$3.50.

This book is the first to be issued of a series of studies projected by the National Institute of Economics and Social Research. The volume is the result of work done by a committee of the London School of Economics acting under the direction of Dr. Bowley.

The first chapter deals with the definition of national income, and is the work of M. J. Elsas. He has classified the ways in which leading authorities on *national income* have dealt with some sixty-three points involved in the definition of that term, and has prepared a detailed table showing for 42 authors or Bureaus working on national income what items are or are not included in their income estimates. This table should prove very useful to those attempting to compare the studies made by various authorities.

As the result of a rough computation, Dr. Bowley concludes "that the possible alternative definitions would number over 200 milliards,

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i.e., more than half the number of sixpences in the national income." This amusing result, however, must be ascribed mainly to the fact that Elsas has failed to bring out the point that, in any specific income estimate, the question as to whether items are to be included or excluded depends largely upon what the estimator is endeavoring to measure. Some estimators seek to measure income actually *received* by individuals; some income *accruing* to individuals. Some are interested solely in money income; others include home products, and services of publicly owned goods. Some are trying to calculate the value of the national product. Since the questions which they are attempting to answer differ radically, it is obvious that the items included in the various estimates will necessarily be very different.

In the second chapter, Dr. Bowley, Joan G. Marley, and H. Campion deal with changes in wage rates and in various constituents of the income of the United Kingdom from 1924 to 1938 or 1939 inclusive. Their studies show that, for all employees, rates of pay were only 3.5 per cent higher in 1939 than in 1924, and that salaries in 1939 actually averaged 1 per cent lower than in 1924. However, the general price level fell about 10 per cent during the same period, hence the real wage index apparently rose about 15 per cent.

Dr. Bowley has also computed the gain in average earnings per worker by dividing a total value of production index by a "cost of living" index. This method indicates that from 1924 to 1938, real earnings per person rose 19 per cent. For the same interval of time, he finds that, for all the inhabitants, real income per capita increased approximately 17 per cent.

It is interesting to compare this indicated relative income growth for the United Kingdom with the supposedly comparable estimates for the United States made by the National Industrial Conference Board. The latter figures indicate, for the period 1924-1938, a *decline* of more than 5 per cent in our per capita real income. Evidently, during the 14-year period under consideration, the British made more economic progress than we did.

The volume under review contains an extensive bibliography of books and articles dealing with income. It covers numerous publications in the various leading nations.

Like all of Bowley's books, this study has all the earmarks of a very scholarly piece of work.

WILLFORD I. KING

New York University

Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle: A Study in the Background of Political Education. By DEWEY ANDERSON and PERCY E. DAVIDSON. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1943. Pp. xiii + 377. \$4.00.

This third co-operative volume by Anderson and Davidson moves through three distinct phases. It starts off with a detailed statistical study of the voters in Santa Clara County, California. Then it shifts to a general discussion of American voters' stake in government and absence of class solidarity. Finally, it undertakes a fundamental critique of American educational philosophy and practice, advocating certain broad changes. The first phase thus represents an empirical, the second an interpretative, and the third a reform contribution, all of a high order.

The statistical analysis shows the same thoroughness that has characterized the authors' two previous studies. It covers 73,000 registrants (93 per cent of those officially registered) at the time of the 1934 election, and a slightly smaller number (80 per cent of those registered) at the time of the 1932 election. For some breakdowns it uses all of the registrants, but for others it uses representative samples.

With their data in hand, after tracing the fate of the Republican and Democratic parties in the elections from 1928 to 1940, the authors are able to show the changing party affiliations among registrants in the 1932 and 1934 elections by occupation, place of birth, occupational prestige, income, value of property owned, residence, education, intelligence, sex, and marital status. They do not pretend that the figures speak for themselves, but instead attempt to give meaning to the statistics by relating them to the social order. They raise the question of why the voters follow party lines, for instance, and answer it by what might be called a marginal analysis in political terms. If refusal to change parties over a series of elections measures purely traditional party allegiance, then this leaves a substantial and generally decisive margin of votes to be explained in terms of real or fancied goals in a current political situation. Traditional voting only vaguely follows the individual interests of the voters, whereas nontraditional voting comes nearer to following such interests.

The authors enter the second phase of their discussion by raising this question: Why do voters *not* use the political machinery consistently and rationally to pursue their own individual interests? This leads them into the whole

problem of class solidarity in the United States, and their discussion of it is one of the best yet published. They point out that any attempt to view the American situation in terms of the European class organization is fallacious, because for historical reasons status is not fixed and traditional in the sense that it is in Europe.

Entering the third, or reform, phase of their discussion, the authors apparently feel that traditionalism and nonrationality have played too great a role in our political behavior. As an antidote they suggest a frank, enlightened, militant self-interest on the part of the electorate. The lesser people have not had the right sort of education, but have been taught a great many vague and high ideals which conceal their true disadvantages. Instead they should be given an education which deals realistically with political and economic problems. With such an education, they will use the existing political machinery to further their major interests and thus produce greater equality and greater opportunity in American society.

The authors draw upon an extensive literature, both sociological and economic. They draw heavily, for example, upon the extremely comprehensive reports of the Temporary National Economic Committee in Washington, of which Anderson has been the executive officer, and upon their own previous joint investigations of the American occupational structure. The result is a signal contribution to our understanding of American political behavior and social stratification. The reviewer would take issue most sharply with the third part of the book, on the ground that it exhibits a naive rationalism. In glorifying the rational pursuit of self-interest, they have an ambiguous and nonsociological conception of the "self" as something which exists apart from all ideals and sentiments. Their view seems tenable only if it is not pushed to its logical consequences. With better analytical tools they might have chosen not to throw ideals and sentiments away in favor of "self-interest" but rather to introduce some changes in the existing ideals and the behavior with reference to them. But this disagreement aside, the empirical findings, the extremely able analysis, and the trenchant reform proposals make this an unusually valuable work.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Office of Population Research
Princeton University

Radio's Listening Groups. The United States and Great Britain. By FRANK ERNEST HILL and W. E. WILLIAMS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. x + 270. \$2.75.

This book is a contribution to a new phase of adult education. Part I, in ten chapters by Hill, presents facts and a discussion of group listening in this country. Part II, in eight chapters by Williams, deals chiefly with British experience along this line. Listening groups are congregates of people who gather around a radio at appointed times and places to listen to particular broadcasts. Group discussion is often, though not always, associated with such practice. Neither here nor in Europe has formal organization of such groups gone very far and it is almost impossible to discover how many informal gatherings of this sort emerge and disappear in a given period.

Hill made a crude census of the more formal of such groups in the United States in the late 1930's. While he enumerates specifically only 8363 (of which 80 percent were reported by radio stations and networks), he estimates from other sources that there were at that time "at least fifteen thousand organized groups meeting together to hear radio programs" (p. 38). He further estimated that anywhere from three hundred thousand to a half-million people were involved in such activities. On the basis of a sample of 484 persons definitely registered as group listeners, Hill presents certain characteristics. Among these he found that they came from a wide range of political affiliations, nationality backgrounds, religions, and occupations. On the whole more women than men belong to such organizations. There is a wide range also in income, but the mode falls in the one thousand to three thousand-dollar bracket. In terms of education these individuals are above the average for the country; youth and middle age are the predominant age-groups; and three-fourths of them engage in other forms of group activity. When asked what they got out of such experiences, a variety of replies were forthcoming. Nearly one-half said they engaged in subsequent group discussion; three-quarters of them noted the "social pleasure" derived from such meetings. Many of them remarked on the fact that such experiences stimulated them to serious reading and to greater alertness to contemporary social problems.

Hill offers considerable advice on how to organize and conduct such groups, how to develop satisfactory programs, and on the conduct of discussions. Both Hill and Williams stress the need for active and imaginative leadership in this field if this form of adult education is to prove successful.

The chapters by Williams on Great Britain are less filled with numerical facts but have

much more substance. He points out that listening groups at best can only be supplementary to other adult educational devices. In fact, wherever adult education has been well established, group listening has not taken hold. He debunks a lot of the undue optimism in some quarters about the potentialities of listening groups. And he artfully undoes the fetish of the discussion group, for while he sees a place for it, he by no means believes it must necessarily accompany satisfactory listening in groups. Moreover, Williams emphatically contends that one of the chief purposes of programs designed for such groups should be to reach and to stimulate individuals who otherwise have little or no chance to get the facts and interpretations thus provided.

One chapter is devoted to the relations of adult listening to the development of school broadcasting in Britain. Another chapter reviews group listening in various continental countries.

In a brief epilogue, Williams indicates the possible place which such practices have for democracy. He sees a potential strength for democracy in the development of what he terms "critical listening." He aptly remarks: "The savour of democratic life does not depend on large numbers of bookish people, but on a vast number of citizens ready to face arguments and facts not necessarily agreeable to them, and in making up their minds not on the basis of wide reading but on material as presented to them" (p. 257). In providing such material honest and expert leadership is needed, and the radio and listening groups offer one of the most important media for thus presenting to the masses in a democracy issues upon which they make decisions.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

"Exploring the Wartime Morale of High-School Youth." By LEE J. CRONBACH. *Applied Psychology Monographs*, #1, Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1943. Pp. 79. \$1.25.

Cronbach accepts the view that "morale studies must increasingly emphasize the individual," though study of his response tendencies toward group problems is also valuable. Sometime we may determine "whether group morale is fundamentally a mass behavior." Morale, for this study, revolves around "one's confidence in his future, and his ability to overcome his problems and attain his goals." But this already specialized conception is then restricted to "the tend-

ency of the individual to predict realistically the hardships or lack of hardships he will face in the future" plus confidence they can be overcome. Thus the old bogey of "group mind" is back again together with the false disjunction of individual and group.

Some 2000 Washington state high school pupils reacted to a set of predictions (in early 1942) of what the war would do to the nation and to their own lives. The median score was slightly on the optimistic side—as judged by experts. Upperclassmen were slightly more optimistic, girls more pessimistic. Size of community was of negligible influence. Siblings' attitudes were slightly correlated. There was evidence of carry-over from depression experiences and from cumulative anti-war teaching. Group and personal optimism orientations were only moderately correlated, and the dispersion among scores was large. Efforts to isolate item-clusters were unsuccessful.

When he comes to what to do about morale, the author mixes what this reviewer would regard as sound advice with dubious preaching. Pageantry, he says, will not get at underlying emotions; discussion provides catharsis. Granted, however, that the anti-war teaching of past years has made students dread war, how can we teach them to love war or peace without disliking the other? What shall one think of recommendations to teach facts so that misconceptions will fade—"facts" such as the absurdity of fearing a clothing shortage, "dependable information" about the war, the plentifulness of food.

Finally, this sociologist cannot understand how even so interesting a study of morale in wartime can be adequate when it neglects that element in morale which we may designate "the sense of belonging to a group." Student anxieties and naive beliefs are interesting, but are they the aspect of morale most critical today?

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Iowa State College

Recreation and Delinquency: A Study of Five Selected Chicago Communities. By ETHEL SHANAS with collaboration of Catherine E. Dunning. Chicago: Chicago Recreation Commission, 1942. Pp. xxxii + 284. Price not stated.

Youth in the CCC. By KENNETH HOLLAND and FRANK ERNEST HILL. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. Pp. xv + 263. \$2.25.

This is a careful, detailed study of recreation and delinquency in the Lower North Side, South

Chicago, Fuller Park, Near West Side, and Hyde Park communities of Chicago. To me, the most significant aspect of the study is that the findings and recommendations are about what a body of experts would have produced if no study had been made. That is to say, they could have *predicted* what would be found and the recommendations could have been made without the study. It would be fairly safe to predict that similar findings would emerge from a similar study in almost any large city. This suggests that research and analysis in this field have already reached a point which properly can be called scientific. If some large city should follow the recommendations carefully over a period of years (which no large city thus far has done), and delinquency were greatly reduced in the high incidence areas, then the scientific nature of the suggested therapy would be demonstrated and we properly could speak of *scientific social therapy*. If the predicted results were not forthcoming, it would suggest faulty findings, or faulty recommendations, or both, and the entire problem would have to be approached with new or modified hypotheses and research methods. Until we learn to apply such careful tests to social diagnoses and suggested therapies, social *science* will remain more or less a hope and faith. When such applied social science is actually demonstrated, we can proceed with social diagnosis and therapy directly with justified expectation of achieving the desired results.

Technically, the study is commendable, especially for its presentation of data by clever, clear, attention-getting pictographic tables and maps (62 of them), all the schedules used, and the methods employed. There are 173 numerical tables; the exposition throughout is clear and concise. This study could and should be *repeated* in many cities. This is another WPA study which makes one feel that the "economy" of abolishing the WPA is as "penny wise" as was the repeal of the Sheppard-Towner Act.

Those who still have doubts about the social utility of the CCC should read and ponder this book by Holland and Hill. The publications of the Youth Commission are one of the most valuable by-products of the depression and the CCC, in the opinion of the reviewer, is one of the most constructive programs adopted by the New Deal. This volume tells what kind of young men were selected; what they think before and after CCC experience; what they do; what education, vocational and other training, recreation, and medical care they receive; how

they fit into the war program; what employers think about them; and what has been learned about the administration of such a program during the last ten years.

It is suggested that the program should be carried on and expanded after the war under a more centralized administration with a more expert staff and that the military aspects of the program should be entirely eliminated. This latter suggestion will be very difficult to carry out, I imagine, if the present agitation for universal postwar military training does not die out. The military may see in the CCC an opportunity to put over at least part of their project. A militarized CCC would be worse than none.

The book is well-written and well-printed with eleven beautiful full-page cuts. Unfortunately, it has no index.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Concerning Juvenile Delinquency: Progressive Changes in Our Perspective. By HENRY W. THURSTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. xi + 236. \$2.75.

Thurston believes that persons working with delinquents should have knowledge of "the whole range of opinions on the causes of juvenile delinquency," as well as knowledge of the various treatment methods which have been utilized in the past. In short, Thurston states that social workers concerned with delinquents should possess a historical perspective of both the causes and treatment of delinquency, and this book is intended to furnish such a perspective.

The book opens with a discussion of varieties of misbehavior which range from mischief to murder. This section contains numerous illustrations of delinquencies all designed to make the reader aware of the problem of juvenile delinquency. The next chapter deals with the causes of delinquency. The treatment of the materials in this chapter is rather unique in that the presentation takes the form and characteristics of a forum. Such authorities as Darrow, the Gluecks, Sullenger, Horney, Healy, Levy, Van Waters, Reynolds, Abbott, Thrasher, and many others are asked to discuss aspects of causation after being introduced by the chairman. These persons discuss briefly such questions in the etiology of delinquency as intelligence, racial factors, motion pictures, emotional and mental defects, parental attitudes and home conditions, etc. The chairman summarizes

the forum discussion in the following manner, "In short, the gist of the wisest testimony . . . is that each delinquent youth is 'a total personality in a total situation.' Therefore, only to the degree that we understand the *total personality in the total situation* of each delinquent youth can we hope intelligently to help him to give up his delinquent behavior and to begin to satisfy his need for self-expression in some legal way that will not be harmful to others" (pp. 62-63).

The next section of the book is devoted to treatment of delinquents by what may be termed official agencies. Thus, probation, juvenile courts, detention and related matters are discussed in a fashion designed to give the reader an acquaintance with their growth and limitations. The final section of the book deals with community agencies organized to treat delinquents. A plea is made for the co-ordination of the efforts of the official and community agencies so as to render the work of these agencies more effective.

It is believed that the book will be found interesting and profitable by those who deal with juvenile delinquents as well as by those who have no professional interest in delinquency. The materials are presented in an interesting fashion and the illustrations are often dramatic.

E. D. MONACHESE

University of Minnesota

Psychology and Human Living. By WALTER C. LANGER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. ix + 286. N.p.

For the purpose of "helping young people and their parents to understand and to do something about the complex problems of human relations today," the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association presents Mr. Langer's popularization of Freudian doctrine flavored with Henry A. Murray's theory of "needs." As the author sees it, "primitive man" was handicapped by his belief that humans were controlled by spirits, and academic psychology and other "systems" are only somewhat better off. The dawn came with Freud, and Murray bridged a gap.

Freud has already had an abundance of popularization; the mixture with Murray's "needs" is the novel element in this work. There is no essential difference between this and the concepts of wishes, desires, interests, residues, and the like, which have been under discussion for years. The "needs" concept leads no further, except perhaps in its unwarranted implication

of necessity of gratification. The arbitrary character of the classification is concealed by the pretence that it is or could have been arrived at by inductive means. The method by which it is proven that the "energy" behind a "need" must get somewhere is not stated, but it is claimed that if some new activity turns out to be fascinating then some "need" is getting an "outlet."

Examples are too facile. Hitler is the result of an inordinately strong "need for dominance." A man who is solicitous about his wife has a "need for nurturance." A speeder has a great "need for autonomy." The possibility of alternative interpretations is disregarded.

The appeal of these notions of "needs" and "outlets" to Progressive Education is obvious, but if the teachers will cheat the theory a little the pupils may learn some arithmetic and spelling anyway. The young people and their parents who need help will not find much, but they will enjoy the educated feeling of using words like projection, identification, and super-ego.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Syracuse University

Love Against Hate. By KARL MENNINGER. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1942. Pp. vii + 311. \$3.50.

Menninger has made a useful contribution to the growing field of social psychiatry. Like Alexander, Fromm, Plant, Horney, Frank, and others, he recognizes that psychiatry consists not entirely of individualized problems but involves the discovery of the common frustrating situations of our culture and the awakening of protest and social action against them.

Menninger appears to be well aware of cultural differences when he points out how the typical American family pattern and its resulting frustrations differ from Europe. On the other hand, like many psychiatrists and psychologists, he naively overgeneralizes in dealing with more primitive societies. For example, "Primitive man could kill what he liked and could gratify his love instinct without reference to any restrictions. Contemporary man can do neither."

His analysis of the character difference between the sexes, in this reviewer's opinion, is still too much under the influence of the traditional, biological folklore, and does not show enough recognition of how culture molds sex personality. Even if Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament* might be overworked as an example of this, there are Kardiner and Linton's,

Ruth Benedict's, and other data which have not yet sufficiently got into the thinking of some of our best and most highly recognized "social" psychiatrists.

When he gets away from the vague concepts of "masculinity" and "femininity," and describes *interaction processes* between husband and wife, and parent and child, in our society, Menninger is on firmer ground. The American father's preoccupation with business and neglect of his family, the comparative absence of son-father hatred in America, the frustration of the American wife due to her husband's neglect and preoccupation, the consequent overattention of the mother to her son, which is in part loving but in part a subtle domination against which he often rebels, are insights from psychiatric experience which could be followed up to good advantage by other methods.

Menninger stands with most other social psychiatrists who believe that on the whole we still use too much authority and repression upon our children. He recommends less interference with the child's spontaneous development in respect to sucking, toilet habits, feeding, and sexual play. He recognizes that it is not "premature" sexual stimulation or feeling which damages personality, but rather the fear, guilt or shame with which the child may be induced, by his culture, to react to such experiences. One might say that it is fear, not sex, which is the core of the problem of mental hygiene.

Menninger's major theme reminds us of the words of the popular song which begins, "Ah, sweet mystery of life, at last I've found you." However, it will do no harm to have this idea of love as the Great Therapy repeated through many channels and on many levels of discussion. Poets and prophets have said it; the great religions are based on it. Menninger has said it in a rather effective way for the reader of good general education who has at least a little smattering of modern psychiatry. He has gone beyond the poets and the prophets by courageously following the doctrine into its concrete implications in the sexual sphere, by showing that sex, while not the whole of love, is an important instrument in its development.

We still await, however, the concrete social planning which will make it possible to have more love and less hate among the millions of interpersonal relationships. We still await the book or the teacher who will translate this desire for greater love as an end, which most people share, into an approval of several types

of institutional reorganization which are probably necessary means to that end and are yet, to most of the same people, anathema. If, for example, we wish more love within the family we shall have to change economic patterns within and without the family in such a way as to reduce competition and conflicts of interest as between family members. A still more sociological psychiatry (perhaps it should be called psychiatric sociology) will be needed to carry out this step.

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

Vassar College

The Meaning of Intelligence. By G. D. STODDARD. New York: Macmillan, 1943. Pp. ix + 504. \$4.00.

As a considerable portion of the material in Stoddard's *The Meaning of Intelligence* has already appeared in research bulletins, popular articles, and radio broadcasts, the viewpoint and data are by now quite familiar to many social scientists. The frame of reference is mainly that of radical environmentalism, although occasionally the social philosophy of interactionalism is implied. The data of the book are carefully selected to bolster the author's theoretical stand. A few experiments which point in other directions are mentioned and criticized, but the major critics are ignored.

The book is divided into five sections: the nature of intelligence, the measurement of intelligence, growth in intelligence, heredity and environment, and intelligence and society. In an appendix one can find comparative data on the content of the Herring Binet, of the three editions of the original Binet, and of the two editions each of the Stanford Binet and the Kuhlmann Binet. There are author and subject indexes.

It may be recalled that the highly controversial Iowa data have been sharply criticized by a number of competent researchers. Their criticisms seem to fall into three categories: that the experimental procedures of the Iowa researchers were occasionally unsound, that the statistical treatments were often faulty, and that serious semantic errors were present. Now at this date nothing can be done about the way in which the Iowa data were collected. But is it too much to ask that the major objections to the statistical procedures and the semantic uses be at least mentioned? Although Stoddard demonstrates that he is aware of the semantic errors of certain others he still fails to see that if a preschool test and the Stanford Binet are

measuring almost totally different variables it is wrong to give the identical label to what each measures. Yet a goodly share of his argument is based on just such a semantic absurdity. Let us say that the ratio of Test A and chronological age gives a value of 80 "pseudo-IQ" units. Years later, the ratio of Test B (which correlates at zero with Test A) and age gives a value of 105 "real-IQ" units. Mathematically speaking, the number 80 has grown to 105; but surely there is no gain of 25 "real-IQ" units. Yet many of the Iowa-nurtured IQ's have grown in this fashion.

With Stoddard's social philosophy, if not with his data, the reviewer is in substantial agreement. Too long has social science been hamstrung by the extreme hereditarians and by pseudoscientists of the Popenoe sort. The philosophy of interactionalism is apparently much closer to the truth than is their dogma. Yet, even now, definite answers to pressing social problems can rarely be given. And, since this is true, is it not good sense to ascertain the IQ's of the parents of the child one may desire to adopt? Yet Stoddard rules against this. And, although one may not relish the wild claims of the eugenists, must he blind his eyes, as does Stoddard, to the fact that the sterilization of certain defectives allows them to marry and care for themselves successfully without the crushing responsibilities children may bring? It would seem that a belief in the prognostic value of IQ's or in the social utility of an occasional sterilization should not make one *per se* a hereditary.

The Meaning of Intelligence is, in the main, an interestingly written book. Whether or not one agrees with its data and its social philosophy one should, the reviewer feels, become acquainted with what the progressive educators will in all probability soon accept as another of their gospels.

PAUL R. FARNSWORTH

Stanford University

Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts. A Report Prepared for the Committee on Social Adjustment. By ROBERT R. SEARS. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942. Pp. vii + 156. n.p.

This report was prepared by Dr. Sears for the Subcommittee on Motivation of the Committee on Social Adjustment of the Social Science Research Council, and passed upon by the Subcommittee: A. T. Poffenberger, Chairman; Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Ralph Linton, H. A.

Murray, Jr. It well represents the interdisciplinary research planning and integration of the Social Science Research Council.

Psychological research by objective methods in general seems to support the theory of *infantile sexuality*, but it fails to throw light upon the interrelations or intersubstitutability of the oral, anal, and genital activities. The evidence fails to show the *Oedipus-family-romance complexes* to be common patterns in American society; and there is practically no evidence of the *castration complex*. The general thesis of Freud, that the nature of the chosen love object and the reactions to other similar or dissimilar objects are dependent upon the early home environment of the child is abundantly supported, "but there are no universal patterns of family life." "Freud vastly underrated the importance of the child's immediate social milieu . . . and overrated the uniformity of family patterns."

The objective research seems to show that *fixation* (of an earlier habit) is an essential prerequisite for *regression* (to that habit), but that *frustration* is only one of several conditions which may lead to such a regression; other such conditions are satiation and alcohol. Many studies purporting to deal with *repression* through the method of recall of pleasant and unpleasant items fail to get at Freud's real point: what he really meant was not that we tend to repress or forget all kinds of unpleasant experiences, but specifically those connected with our own inner impulses which have led to parental punishment and resultant anxiety.

The concept of *projection* is supported by strong statistical correlation between self-criticism and ideas of reference, and some correlation between lack of insight and the attribution of traits to other persons.

This report holds that a science of personality should be cast in a behavioral rather than an experiential frame of reference; that the "other social and psychological sciences must gain as many hypotheses and intuitions as possible from psychoanalysis but that the further analysis of psychoanalytic concepts by nonpsychoanalytic techniques may be relatively fruitless so long as those concepts rest in the theoretical framework of psychoanalysis." The report urges that personality research be structured about the three basic concepts of *growth, learning, and the social milieu*. Three kinds of effort seem to the Committee especially promising: (1) life history and other longitudinal studies in which a given individual is followed up for

a considerable period of time; (2) studies of secondary motivation through the use of animal behavior techniques already well developed (i.e., animals acting under a primary drive such as hunger are made to change their instrumental behavior toward their goal by various rewards, punishments, etc.); (3) cross-cultural comparisons of personality development.

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

Vassar College

Smoke from Their Fires. By CLELLAN S. FORD.

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

xiii + 248 pp., 3 illustrations.

The time is apparently past when personal narratives, recorded from native informants, are edited and printed for the perusal of students and the public without significant comment or analysis. *Smoke from Their Fires*, the life story of a Kwakiutl chief, illustrates the advance in the treatment of autobiographical materials which has been made during the last few years. The first chapter of the book, 42 pages in length, is a very readable essay on the general features of the culture of these Indians of the Northwest Coast of North America. It provides the norm in terms of which the individual record of Charles Nowell, the narrator, can be understood and interpreted. In addition, explanatory notes are provided by Mr. Ford throughout the book. Many of these observations are not too penetrating and deal with matters which are fairly obvious from the text. Some, however, are quite revealing, and the device is one which can be used to advantage. The reader is further aided by a chronological summary of Mr. Nowell's life and by a preface to his story which defines his place in the society.

Though Nowell has seen the white man rise to a position of economic and political mastery over his people, his contacts with Western culture have been oblique and opportunistic. His values and ideals are those of his native tribe. He tells the stories of the lavish feasts or potlatches with gusto; the speeches of chiefs, the dances and tricks of the ceremonials, the solemnity of the distribution of honors, live again in his recital. But the interference of the white man with Kwakiutl practice is treated with anger and resentment. The only aspect of modern culture which Nowell finds useful is writing. It has helped him obey his dying father's injunction "to remember the main positions and all the ancestors. . . ."

Charles Nowell is not the ordinary man of

his group. He is, at seventy, the ranking noble of his tribe. In one sense this is unfortunate, for much of the data we have on Kwakiutl culture, particularly the texts gathered by Dr. Boas, relates to the honors, activities, and psychology of the upper tier of the society. It is just because there is such a stratification of classes in this culture that the voice of the commoner, as he speaks for himself and not as he is interpreted by the chief, would be welcome.

The drive to amass wealth which operates so strongly in Kwakiutl society has been remarked by all students of this people. Ordinarily this interest has not been correlated with different basic motives but has been treated as a value which has somehow grown up and which has come to overshadow all others. Nowell supplies an interesting correlation between the desire to buy sexual favors from young women and the desire for wealth. If his emphasis is correct, a weighting appears which has not before been given the elements of Kwakiutl culture. However, Nowell's testimony on this point requires further investigation, for he devotes what seems to be a disproportionate share of his narrative to matters of sex and to his own escapades. This may be a defense mechanism and a reflection of his concern over his own health and manliness, for he confesses to early impotency.

All in all, *Smoke from Their Fires* is a successful and valuable addition to the store of personal documents which is being furnished by anthropologists.

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

Personality and Social Change. By THEODORE

M. NEWCOMB. New York, Dryden Press, 1943. Pp. 225. \$2.50.

This is a study of attitude formation and change in a student community during a period of marked change in national and international affairs (1935-39). Its purpose is to answer the question "What kinds of personal characteristics, in any student community, determine those social relationships which in turn lead to varying reactions to proposed social changes?" The community studied, Bennington College, is made up of a small, closely-knit student body consisting of about two hundred and fifty young women, mainly from upper-class homes, and a faculty of some fifty persons, most of whom are generally recognized as liberals. The community is further characterized by rigid selection of students on the basis of aptitude, a marked degree of primariness in interpersonal

relations, a great interest in current affairs of national and international importance, a high degree of social self-sufficiency, and a status system which emphasizes personal characteristics, especially liberal attitudes, to a degree quite uncommon in traditional private or state colleges. The data for the study consist of questionnaire responses, including scores on attitude scales, self-ratings and prestige ratings; written reports of teachers and college authorities on individual students; and detailed individual interviews. The same procedures were followed throughout the study, so that it was possible to make not only cross sectional comparisons of the four college classes but also to trace attitude changes for individuals and classes during the complete period of participation in the community.

Space does not permit a detailed statement of the analysis made of the data. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that acceptable quantitative techniques were used to determine the general picture of attitude formation and change in the student body. This analysis was supplemented by careful case studies. The main results may be given briefly: Students on entering the college are significantly more conservative than when they become seniors; attitude change is only slightly related to course of study; Bennington students show more significant shifts toward liberalism between the freshman and senior years than students of traditional colleges; liberal attitudes developed in the community tend to persist after leaving it; friendship groupings are clearly related to social attitudes, especially among non-conservative students; students with the highest prestige ratings and most favorable personality characteristics are, on the average, more liberal than their fellow students; students whose attitudes did change proved to be anxious for prestige in the community and to be ripe for parental emancipation; students whose attitudes did not change or who became more conservative tended to be negativistic toward the community, non-cooperative, and dominated by parents or a desire to maintain their status in outside groups.

The study does not answer the original research question, at least not in the terms in which it was set. To do this the analysis would have to be extended to other types of communities. However, it does make an important contribution in that it demonstrates quite clearly how social attitudes are affected by participation in a primary community whose status system is based on success in a limited number

of areas. Objection may be raised to the neglect of the author to relate his theoretical position to existing sociological ideas of personality development and community types. No mention is made either of the standard works on these subjects nor of other studies of attitude development and change. It should be said, however, that the theoretical aspects of the treatment are good despite this omission. Finally, Newcomb is to be commended on his successful handling of the difficult task of combining the statistical with the case approach. He has produced a more meaningful result than would have been possible by means of either approach to the exclusion of the other.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL

Oklahoma A. & M. College

Sociología Peruana. By ROBERTO MACLEAN Y ESTENÓS. Lima, 1942. Pp. 556. S/ 10.00.

The growing interest in social science in Peru is reflected by the appearance of this large new text-book in sociology. The author approaches his subject, as he says, from the point of view of "genesis and telesis." This is the title of the first part of the book, which opens with a chapter on the aboriginal cultures, followed by one on geographic determinism and its social implications. Then come chapters on nationalism and its part in Peruvian social "evolution," a discussion of social classes in Peru, and a description of the principal cities of the country which, however, has little in common with modern urban sociology. The second part of the book is entitled "Social Forces." These are discussed under two main headings: "Sexo" and "Espíritu Colectivo." Peruvian sexology is set forth in "evolutionary" sequence from primitive (pre-Columbian) times through the colonial period to the present. As expressions of "Espíritu Colectivo" the author chooses mythology, witchcraft and associated activities, native art, language, law and morality.

The presentation differs from the main trend of modern North American sociological writing in its attachment to evolutionary sociological theory, its comparatively small reliance upon contemporary field investigations, and its careful tone of optimistic patriotism. The latter characteristic does not entirely restrain the author from some incisive comment on modern Peruvian social classes, especially the Indians, and the present reviewer found the chapter on that subject the most enlightening. Furthermore, the author has performed a considerable service in extracting from the early chronicles and a few

modern works many significant items of present Peruvian culture which can be referred to the aboriginal base, even though the reviewer cannot entirely agree with the theoretical framework into which this material is cast.

Peruvian society, like so many others in Latin America, is on the march, and it is desirable that Peruvian social scientists should be sufficient in number and in training to take their proper place in the guidance of the nation through the inevitable social changes which lie ahead. If this is to be done the interest in the past must be combined with a modern scientific knowledge of the social realities in the Peruvian social situation of the present. It is to be hoped that a growing interest in Peruvian sociology, as evidenced by the appearance of Prof. MacLean's book, will speedily lead toward the realization of this objective.

JOHN GILLIN

Duke University

Los problemas de la sociología. By LUÍS BOSSANO. Quito, Ecuador: 1941. University of Ecuador.

The Problems of Sociology is a publication of the University of Ecuador and Bossano is professor "of the matter" there. In spite of the fact that his little book of 211 pages is unprovided with index, tables, graphs, footnotes, and photographs, it will repay study and discussion, if only as an example of a mentality different from our own. That mentality appears in the first paragraph, which frankly adopts as one of sociology's aims the setting up of norms for communal living.

No one who knows Latin America can fail to sympathize when Bossano complains of the way people with a program, political or other, buttress their position by abusing the name of sociology and claiming its support. His one ambition is a scientific sociology (for which Comte has shown the way!) As may be suspected from this reference, Bossano is somewhat oriented toward the past, and his book is rather a review of sociological theories than a plan for solving either its or society's present problems. In no case can his treatment of the great forerunners be said to be thorough enough to supersede those with which we are familiar. His account of our relations with neighbor disciplines is extremely brief. While he advocates a study of the various factors that have made each society what it is, he can hardly be said to have a cultural approach, for his factors are the sun, physical environment, man's biological nature and native energy, psychic factors,

and the products of interaction, past and present. A knowledge of all these factors will permit first the public health expert and later the sociologist to raise mankind to a higher physical and moral plane.

A good idea of the spirit of this book can be obtained by listing the names that appear as masters in its pages, and noting the omissions. They are: Comte, Spencer, Ibn Khaldun, Vico, Romagnosi, Janelli, Montesquieu, Saint Simon, Condorcet, Hooker, Mill, Gobineau, Marx, Antonio Caso, René Maunier, Georg Nicolai, Claparède, Ramón y Cajal, and Romain Rolland.

W. REX CRAWFORD

University of Pennsylvania

Sociology. By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Edited and annotated by Franz H. Mueller. New York: Oscar Piess, 1941. Pp. 136. \$1.50.

This small book is a scientific treatise with one focal point: the definition of sociology. It tries to define what the subject matter of sociology really is. The author attempts earnestly to do away with the confusion that everything that deals with society is sociology. After contrasting sociology with ethics, social psychology, political science, cultural science, social philosophy, encyclopedia of social sciences, and biosociology, he comes to the conclusion that sociology has as its subject matter only interhuman behavior (page 10). He formulates sociology as an autonomous science and insists that "a systematic uniform construction and a correspondence between the subject matter and methodology" (page 21) must be developed. Wiese's answer to "what is a social process" is that it is an occurrence in which processes of association and dissociation prevail (page 31).

This book is a splendid exposition of Wiese's concept of sociology, and is the most concise statement he has made of it. It is basic reading for sociological students.

The relationship of Wiese's work to sociometry and the sociometric school is obvious. Both put emphasis upon interpersonal relations. But there are two factors which a sociometrist misses in Wiese's exposition. The one is primary experimentation as an indispensable source of valid formulation of concepts. The second is measurement of findings. These differences can well be explained if one compares the origins of Wiese's social philosophy with the origins of sociometry. Wiese, and Simmel—who influenced him greatly—were social philosophers of *ex cathedra* style. They

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tried to develop social systems and social categories by profound analytic thinking, whereas sociometry had its start when confronted with practical social problems.

J. L. MORENO

Sociometric Institute

Social Problems. By JOHN LEWIS GILLIN, CLARENCE G. DITTMER, ROY J. COLBERT, and NORMAN M. KASTLER, Third Edition. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1943. Pp. xii + 528.

This widely used volume has changed relatively little since the publication of the second edition in 1932. A fourth collaborator, Professor Kastler, has been added, while Professor John P. Gillin, who collaborated in the second edition, no longer receives recognition in the preface. Most of the chapters have been given slightly different titles. There has been some rearrangement of the order of chapters in the second half of the book. Most of the chapters have been given moderate revision, but several have hardly been touched, although the available materials concerned with certain social problems have been greatly enlarged in the last decade. Outstanding instances of this weakness are found in the absence of mention of any of

the newer studies of the Negro, failure to incorporate anything substantially new on the family, slight mention of anything new in the study of crime and penology, and the general failure to analyze social problems in terms of recent changes and probable future changes in the nation or the world as a whole.

The general approach of this volume remains a good one. It relates the study of social problems to sociology, and reveals the important implications of social change and social conflict for the study of social problems. The list of social problems discussed, if not as complete as the most encyclopedic text books, is adequate enough for the short course in the subject. The emphasis on social attitudes and other basic factors in social adjustments is good, and the emphasis on solutions at the end of the book cannot be improved on. But if in 1943 the treatment seems somewhat outmoded, conservative, and unimaginative, it is difficult to see how it can appear vital in two or three years to young men and women returning to civilian college life in search of further or higher education.

MAPHEUS SMITH

*National Headquarters
Selective Service System*

BOOKNOTES

The Law of Civilization and Decay. By BROOKS ADAMS, with an introduction by Charles A. Beard. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. Pp. 349 + xi. \$3.50.

This "new edition" is identical, except for the introduction, with that of the Macmillan edition published in 1896. Those who wish to learn what Brooks Adams' final conclusions were like must still go to the Paris edition of 1899.

Essentially the book is a diatribe, but it is powerfully argued and gives evidence of thorough scholarship. Readers of Spengler or Sorokin who have not yet read Adams have many surprises in store for them.

The introduction by Charles Beard is a welcome addition, but it is hardly "one of the finest pieces of historical criticism of our time" (from the jacket). For one thing, Dr. Beard seems strangely oblivious of recent analyses in the very field he so industriously plows. Can it be that he has anything to learn from the sociologist?

The Roots of Bergson's Philosophy. By BEN-AMI SCHARFSTEIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. 156.

This is not a study in sociology of knowledge,

but rather a sketch of "the immediate scientific and philosophic environs of Bergsonism." It is well written; even the abundance of quotations becomes a merit because of skillful inter-weaving with the text and apt transitions. A few references are made to the sociologists of Bergson's heyday, but our guild will find little use for the book.

The Confessions of St. Augustine. Translated by F. J. SHEED. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1943. Pp. xxii + 354. \$3.00.

A new translation into modern English, this book makes its chief appeal to the seeker of devotional literature, for it lacks all "apparatus." The rendering is so fluent and accurate, however, that for scholarly uses it might well supersede the standard translations if marginal numbers, notes, and thorough index were supplied.

John Brown 1800-1859. (Revised edition.) By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. Pp. xiv + 738. \$5.00.

John Brown's soul goes marching on, for here is a revised 1943 edition of the famous Villard biography first published in 1910.

The revision consists chiefly in the inclusion of

addenda establishing clearly that John Brown bears the entire responsibility for the Pottawatomie murders.

This book has long been out of print; its reissue even in wartime needs little or no justification, and certainly not of the kind on the jacket: "Now when we are once more engaged in the struggle against oppression and injustice it reappears. . . ."

The Unknown Army: The Nature and History of the Russian Military Forces. By NIKOLAUS BASSECHES. New York: Viking Press, 1943. Pp. 239. \$2.50.

The Russian Army still remains unknown, as far as any basic revelations by Basseches are concerned. He frankly says: "Naturally as a journalist and private citizen, I had no access to secret sources. I made many trips and collected what material I could without breaking any laws, and carefully studied the copious and freely accessible Russian military literature." With these limitations, his book is a good summary, containing much that ordinary social scientists could not possibly dig up themselves.

American Political and Social History. By HAROLD U. FAULKNER. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1943. Pp. xvi + 814. \$3.85.

Even though this is a third edition, attention should be called to it. Faulkner's text is so widely used that some degree of acquaintance with it, in this day of shifting departmental boundaries, may be imposed on sociologists. The new edition retains the Jeffersonian "slant" of the old, and adds a chapter on the first two years of the third Roosevelt administration under the title of "America Goes to War." Typography and binding are excellent, but the paper, perhaps as the result of war-time restrictions, is not sufficiently opaque.

Memoirs of My People through a Thousand Years. Edited by LEO W. SCHWARZ. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1943. Pp. xxvi + 597. \$3.75.

This gallery of Jewish self-portraits is impressive and instructive. From the Spain of Maimonides to the America of Wise, from the eleventh to the twentieth century, from Orthodoxy to Chassidism, the Jew as a social type remains recognizable. Perhaps it would be better to say a cluster of social types—but the recognizability remains. The autobiographical fragments Schwarz has collected fall far short of life-history requirements; nevertheless, anyone dealing with anti-Semitism and related topics dare not knowingly ignore this book unless he is indifferent to scholarly standards.

In the Chinese Garden. By FLORENCE LEE POWELL. New York: The John Day Co., 1943. Pp. 112. \$2.75.

It is taken for granted, and rightly so, that all anthropologists and sociologists worthy of the name will possess the perspective gained by stepping outside the confines of their own culture. Among the many means to this end is the just appreciation of exotic types of artistic expression. The little collection of photographs with interpretive text given us by Florence Lee Powell is an aid in the understanding of the Chinese garden. What the Westerner expects of a garden contrasts so completely and utterly with the Chinese conception that when the latter has been thoroughly comprehended we cannot help but know ourselves better. Role-taking is the very root of self-knowledge.

Chimpanzees: A Laboratory Colony. By ROBERT M. YERKES. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. xiii + 321. \$5.00.

Readers of Hooton's *Man's Poor Relations* have almost certainly acquired a craving for more information about our amusing and interesting cousins. Here is a resume of some of the studies on which Hooton drew so deftly. It must be said, however, that although Yale may be more profound, Harvard is more fluent.